The Journal of Historical Review

Incorporating the **IHR Newsletter**

Volume Thirteen, Number One — January / February, 1993

David Irving
Life Under Fire

Greg Raven
Irving's Most Un-Excellent Adventure in Canada

Wolf R. Hess
The Life and Death of My Father Rudolf Hess

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The Legacy of Rudolf Hess

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—Historical News and Comment—

Irving is a patient researcher of unrivalled industry and success —**A.J.P. Taylor**
No praise can be too high for Irving's indefatigable scholarly industry —**Hugh Trevor-Roper**
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The Journal of Historical Review

Volume XIII, Number 1 January/February 1993

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The Journal of Historical Review (ISSN: 0195-6752) began publication in 1980. It upholds and continues the tradition of Historical Revisionism of scholars such as Harry Elmer Barnes, A.J.P. Taylor, William H. Chamberlin, Paul Rassinier and Charles Tansill.

The Journal of Historical Review is published six times yearly by the Institute for Historical Review, P.O. Box 1306, Torrance, Calif. 90505 USA. Subscription price: $40 per year, $65 for two years, and $90 for three years. For foreign subscriptions, add $10 per year. For overseas airmail delivery, add $30 per year. Remittances for subscriptions must be payable in US dollars drawable on a US bank.

Single issues—Spring 1986 (Volume 7) to the present—are available for sale for $7.50 each, plus $1.05 shipping. Back issues of the *Journal* are also available for purchase in hardbound annual volumes for the years 1984, 1985, 1986, 1988, 1989, 1990 and 1991. Please write for our booklist and prices. Quantity subscription and bulk issue rates are available upon request.

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The Journal of Historical Review is listed in standard periodical directories, and is a member of the Conference of Historical Journals. Contributions do not necessarily reflect the views of the Institute for Historical Review.

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From the Editor

A New Journal and a New Era

Between the beginning of 1980 and the end of 1992 (with a one year suspension in 1987), twelve annual volumes of the familiar quarterly *Journal* were published. In the 5,800 pages of these 46 issues, we have been proud to present hundreds of articles and essays, including first-ever publication of articles of major importance by the world's foremost Revisionist historians and researchers and no fewer than 221 reviews. Consequently (and in spite of its modest circulation), the *Journal* has won the respect of intelligent and grateful readers around the world, as well as the bitter hatred of the traditional enemies of truth in history.

With this January-February 1993 issue of the *Journal*, we take on a new format and publishing schedule. From now on, it will appear six times yearly in this larger (8 1/2 by 11 inch) size, and will make more generous use of photographs. And because it incorporates the now-discontinued *IHR Newsletter*, the *Journal* will include more topical material, including news about Revisionist activism around the world, as well as informed commentary about events here and abroad.

Since its founding in 1978, the Institute for Historical Review has been dedicated to helping thoughtful and open-minded men and women of good will more realistically to anticipate the future by better understanding the past. Our new *Journal* represents a renewed commitment to our traditional goal of shedding light on relevant but suppressed chapters of history.

Building upon the foundation of solid scholarship and careful writing laid in the "old" *Journal*, we will continue to feature scholarly historical articles and reviews. At the same time, though, we will seek to more fully embrace historical issues in the widest sense.

We are confident that the new *Journal* will not only be welcomed by you, our most faithful subscribers, but will also prove effective in reaching many new readers as well.

We launch the "new" *Journal* at a time of sweeping change around the world.

In recent years we have witnessed the collapse of Communist rule in Russia and eastern and central Europe (symbolized by the fall of the Berlin Wall), the emergence of a united Germany and newly independent states in eastern and central Europe, and the breakup of the artificial multi-ethnic states of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and Czecho-Slovakia.

Another world-historical development with the most profound implications for the coming century has been the rise in recent decades of Japan and other countries in East Asia, which present an ever more formidable economic challenge to Europe and the United States.

During this final decade of the twentieth century, it is ironic that so much of the world's attention should once again turn to Bosnia-Herzogovina —precisely the troubled region where the spark that ignited the First World War which proved so devastating for Europe and Western civilization was set off in 1914.

In short, a new and uncertain international order (or disorder) is emerging from the wreckage of the global hegemony established by the United States and the Soviet Union at the end of the Second World War.

No less significant have been the recent—and still ongoing—changes here at home.

According to a nationwide Gallup survey made public in mid-September, two of three Americans believe that the United States is in serious long-term decline. Nearly 80 percent believe that the United States is in economic decline, and 65 percent see America in a state of moral decline. This deep-seated concern is also reflected in the historically unprecedented support for non-politician H. Ross Perot in last year's presidential campaign.

Keen observers of the American scene—regardless of their ideological perspective—are increasingly gloomy about America's future. Historian David Halberstam, for example, believes that it may already be too late. "I have the feeling that something is slipping away from us," he recently commented. "Maybe it will take an apocalyptic event [to turn things around] . . . If it does, a lot of people are going to get hurt. We are in a crisis now, maybe it's an amorphous crisis, but it is a crisis. For the first time in my grown-up life, I'm worried about the future of this country."

Wilmot Robertson, author of *The Dispossessed Majority*, a shrewd analysis of America's social, ethnic, racial and political state, is even less optimistic. Events during the last several decades, he writes in the foreword to a newly published book, *The Ethnostate*, are proving "that America, as we have known it, is beyond saving. The Majority, that is, the Northern and Western European elements of the population, has lost whatever chance it had to recapture the country it ruled for

more than two centuries."

This sense of foreboding—which is all the more remarkable because the United States is still relatively prosperous and stable—has been fueled by a general breakdown of order and civility in recent decades, the seemingly unstoppable deterioration and "Third Worldization" of our major cities, and apparently uncontrollable violence, particularly among the country's racial minorities.

A striking feature of this mood of apprehension is the absence of consensus about just how this crisis came about, much less what should be done about it.

Throughout the centuries, wise individuals have understood that the most reliable guide to the future is an informed awareness of the past. For those willing to learn, history teaches important but often stern lessons.

While an understanding of history has probably never been more urgently needed than today, the sorry lack of historical awareness—especially on the part of our political, educational and cultural leaders—is all the more culpable and dangerous. For it is only with a clear and honest appreciation of the past that we can hope to face the future responsibly and realistically.

Fortunately, it is precisely during times of dramatic and confusing change such as ours that the craving for truthful history tends to be greatest.

Given all this, we believe that this era of challenge and apprehension about the future presents new and important opportunities for the educational work of our Institute and its *Journal of Historical Review*.

In recent years, no historian has provoked greater controversy, or has stimulated more people into reassessing stereotypical notions about contemporary history, than David Irving. The best-selling British historian is also a good friend of the Institute who has delighted attendees at four IHR Conferences.

We are accordingly pleased to begin this premiere issue of the "new" *Journal* with an essay summarizing Irving's remarkable career and impact. The British historian himself then provides a fascinating and humorous report on the increasingly desperate and sometimes criminal international campaign to silence him and to suppress openness in history.

Next, Associate Editor Greg Raven provides a day-by-day account of Irving's recent travails in Canada from where, at the behest of the international Holocaust lobby, he was deported on November 13.

But as Raven shows, this victory may well prove to be Pyrrhic. The Holocaust lobby may win battles, but it is plainly losing the war. In spite of their increasingly frantic efforts, the enemies of historical truth and free speech are finding it harder and harder to stuff the Revisionist genie back into the bottle of enforced ignorance.

Later in this issue, veteran Canadian journalist Doug Collins deftly sums up the larger importance of the Irving and Zündel affairs, two controversies that raise the most fundamental questions about freedom of speech and the role of illicit power in a democratic society. (Unfortunately, neither of these affairs has received anything like the media attention it deserves in the United States.)

Few men of our century have lived lives as dramatic as that of Rudolf Hess. In his front-line combat service during the First World War, his close association with Hitler and position as the Third Reich's Deputy Führer, his unjust treatment at Nuremberg, and his 46 years of cruel imprisonment, Hess personifies—as IHR founder Willis Carto pointed out at the Eleventh IHR Conference—the triumph and tragedy of not only his own nation, but of the West.

We devote much of this issue to a detailed review of the remarkable life and legacy of Rudolf Hess. Following an article that briefly sketches his life and place in history, Wolf Rüdiger Hess provides a fascinating look at the dramatic course of his father's life from a uniquely well-informed perspective. Wolf Hess concludes his presentation with persuasive evidence to show that his father's death in August 1987 was not suicide, as officially reported at the time, but murder.

IHR editorial advisor Martin Larson takes a critical look at the growing campaign to disparage the reputation of Thomas Jefferson. Larson, an expert on Jefferson's life and work, shows that this pseudo-revisionist effort is based not on new historical research or insight, but is instead merely a manifestation of the intellectual biases of our "politically correct" age.

Nothing better symbolizes the misguided priorities of our society today, as well as the venal corruption of our political leaders, than the costly Holocaust Memorial Museum now being completed in Washington, DC. As we report here, plans are now being laid to protest this pseudo-religious monument of foolishness when it formally opens in April.

Finally, on a lighter note, we are happy to provide an account of the role played by Revisionist activists on the nationally broadcast Montel Williams Show in bringing together brothers who, for half a century, were thought to have perished as "victims of the Holocaust."

Politicians are the same all over. They promise to build a bridge even where there is no river.

—Nikita Khrushchev

David Irving: Intrepid Battler for Historical Truth

MARK WEBER

(Based on introduction of Irving at the Eleventh IHR Conference, 1992.)

Soviet premier Nikita Krushchev might have had David Irving in mind when he once warned that historians are dangerous because they have the power to upset everything. German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck once said that the main thing is not to write history, but to make it. Irving is a man who has been able to do some of both.

He is also living proof that the life of a historian need not be dull. The leftist British daily *The Guardian* once commented, "If one can overlook his outrageously odious views, Irving—like Hitler—can be a funny man. The humor comes from a hint of self-mockery and an obvious delight in making liberal flesh creep."

At the Eleventh IHR Conference in October 1992—as he had in his presentations at the IHR Conferences of 1983, 1989 and 1990—this good friend of the Institute for Historical Review not only shed new light on important chapters of twentieth-century history, he delighted attendees with humorous updates on some of the new ways he had found to make liberal flesh creep.

In the three decades since he published his first book, Irving has firmly established himself as not only one of the most successful and widely-read historians of our time, but also as one of the most courageous.

He has an enviable track record of uncovering startling new facts about even supposedly well-known episodes of history. His effectiveness is due in very large measure to his discovery of original source materials, such as diaries, original documents, and so forth, from both official and private sources. He is tenacious in his ceaseless digging in just about every important historical archive in the western world.

A professional historian, Irving has little respect for taxpayer-financed scholars who are guilty of what he calls "inter-historian incest," and who thereby help to keep alive dangerous myths and legends left over from wartime propaganda.

His first work, *The Destruction of Dresden*, was published in 1963 when he was 25 years old. Since then, he has published more than two dozen books, many of them best-sellers, including biographies of Hermann Göring, Winston Churchill, and Erwin Rommel. He is currently at work on a biography of Joseph Goebbels.

Several of Irving's books have appeared in various languages, and several have been serialized in prominent periodicals, including the *Sunday Express*, the *Sunday Telegraph* and *Der Spiegel*.

Over the years, he has also contributed articles to some 60 British and foreign periodicals, including the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Sunday Express* in London, the *Mainichi Shimbun* in Tokyo, and *Stern* and *Der Spiegel* in Hamburg.

Irving's reputation first came under vicious attack following the publication in 1977 of *Hitler's War*, a monumental work that was hysterically criticized for its contention that Hitler did not order the extermination of Europe's Jews. The mass killings must have been carried out by Himmler and his cohorts behind Hitler's back, Irving concluded at that time.

As a journalist for *Time* magazine once told him, "Until *Hitler's War* you couldn't put a foot wrong, you were the darling of the media. After it, they heaped slime on you."

So enraged was the Zionist Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith by this book that the shadowy organization promptly added his name to its ever-growing list of enemies. As it turned out, the ADL's troubles with Irving were only just beginning.

The international campaign against him became even more vicious following the publi-

cation in 1981 of *Uprising*, a history of the 1956 anti-Communist revolt in Hungary. This book enraged the ADL crowd because it does not whitewash the significant Jewish role in the Hungarian Communist regime. [Softcover edition available from the IHR for $16.95 plus $2.00 shipping.]

Irving has made several highly successful speaking and promotion tours in Germany, Canada, Australia, South Africa, the United States, and other countries. German listeners in particular delight in hearing an Englishman say out loud what many in that country believe in their souls but have been intimidated into keeping to themselves. In Germany, Irving has become a kind of conscience for a people who have been largely robbed of their own.

A startling climax in the second "Holocaust Trial" of Ernst Zündel in 1988 was the testimony of Irving, who was the last of 23 defense witnesses. He stunned the completely packed Toronto courtroom by announcing that he had changed his mind about the Holocaust story. During his three days on the stand, he explained in detail why he now endorses the Revisionist view of the extermination story.

In June 1989, Irving published the British edition of *The Leuchter Report*. This handsome, illustrated edition, for which he wrote a foreword, was launched by him at a press conference in London. He told the journalists there that the infamous extermination gas chambers of Auschwitz and Majdanek did not exist, except, perhaps, as the brainchild invention of Britain's wartime propaganda bureau, the Political Warfare Executive (PWE).

A magnificent 860-page Focal Point edition of *Hitler's War* was published last year. Taking account of his most recent research and insights, references to so-called "extermination camps" have been removed from this revised edition. And in his introduction, Irving deftly tears apart one historical legend after another.

This work—the product of decades of patient research and writing—has proven particularly enraging to the enemies of truth in history.

In addition to the usual lies, his adversaries have even turned to criminal burglary and arson in their fitful and frantic efforts to silence him.

Not long ago, an official of the American Jewish Committee, a certain Kenneth S. Stern, declared that Irving "*never* has been considered a serious historian." (*The Oregonian*, Portland, Oct. 7, 1992.)

That is simply a baldfaced lie.

Irving refers to a document during his presentation at the 1990 IHR Conference in Washington, DC.

In fact, Irving's remarkable abilities have been acknowledged by some of the most prominent names in the field. British historian Hugh Trevor-Roper, writing in the *Sunday Times* of London, once declared, "No praise can be too high for Irving's indefatigable scholarly industry." Trevor-Roper also called Irving one of the "few guides I would entirely trust . . . indefatigable in pursuit of evidence, fearless in face of it, sound in judgment . . ."

Another prominent British historian, A. J. P. Taylor, once wrote of him: "David Irving is a patient researcher of unrivalled industry and success."

David John Cawdell Irving was born in Hutton, Essex, England, on March 24, 1938, the son of an illustrator and Royal Navy commander. His father and mother were both well-known writers. After a liberal arts education at the four-century-old Sir Anthony Browne's school in Brentwood, Essex, young Irving won a scholarship to study physics at the Imperial College of Science and Technology

in London.

It did not take long, though, for him to realize that his life's calling would not be in the hard sciences.

In 1959 he moved to Germany's industrial Ruhr region to spend a year working in a steel mill to perfect his fluency in German. Then, after a stint working as a clerk-stenographer with the US Strategic Air Command at an airbase near Madrid, he returned to England to study political economy at London's University College.

Irving speaks fluent German, very good Spanish, and quite passable French, and reads several other languages.

On a personal note, he is the father of four daughters. His hobbies are oil painting, travel, and cinematography, and his favorite song is the English naval hymn, "For Those in Peril on the Sea."

He lives in the Mayfair district of London's West End, although in recent years has spent quite a lot of time at a south Florida retreat, where he now prefers to do his serious writing.

You'd need a pickup truck to carry away all the newspaper and magazine clippings that have appeared over the years about Irving.

In January 1992, for example, a flurry of reports appeared in newspapers and television broadcasts around the world suggesting that he had abandoned his highly skeptical view of the Holocaust extermination story because of what he had found in the postwar "memoir" of Adolf Eichmann, the German SS officer who coordinated the wartime deportations of Jews.

Had Irving defected from the Revisionist camp? In the wake of this uproar, he told the IHR: "My position remains unchanged." There were "certain My-Lai-type atrocities" by German troops in the occupied Soviet territories, but the "gas chambers and factories of death are legend," and there is no wartime evidence of an order by Hitler to exterminate the Jews. In an interview at the time with the London *Jewish Chronicle* (January 17, 1992), Irving said, "The Jews are very foolish not to abandon the gas chamber theory while they still have time."

Last May, a German court fined Irving 10,000 marks—about $6,000—for public statements he had made challenging the Holocaust story. His crime? At a meeting in Munich in 1990, Irving had said that the building in the Auschwitz main camp that has been portrayed for years as an extermination gas chamber is a phony reconstruction (or, in German, "Attrappen").

The Munich district court refused to permit the defense to present even a single witness or exhibit. For example, it would not permit Irving's attorneys to call as a witness the director of the Auschwitz State Museum, Dr. Franciszek Piper, who has privately confirmed on several occasions that what Irving had told the meeting in 1990 is, in fact, the truth. After his attorneys dramatically walked out of courtroom to protest the judge's outrageous rulings, Irving delivered a stirring plea for truth and justice that has since been widely circulated in Germany on audio cassette and as a leaflet. (For more on this trial, see the July-August 1992 *IHR Newsletter*.)

Also last year, Irving played the key and highly publicized role in bringing to light the long-suppressed diaries of Third Reich propaganda chief Dr. Joseph Goebbels. Last July, the London *Sunday Times*, one of the world's most influential papers, published extensive translated excerpts from the diary, which Irving found and transcribed. (See report in the October 1992 *IHR Newsletter*.)

International and British Jewish organizations lost no time in attacking the paper for employing Irving, and the resulting furor made headlines in newspapers and magazines around the world. A report in the London *Jewish Chronicle* headlined "Sunday Times comes under pressure" (July 17, 1992), described the extent of the campaign to punish the paper for its collaboration with Irving. Officials of the American Jewish Committee added their voices to the worldwide pressure campaign, expressing particular anger because the historian has addressed several IHR conferences. The *Sunday Times* capitulated, and in breach of contract, refused to pay Irving the agreed-upon fee of 83,000 pounds. He is suing.

On July 3, more than 300 Jewish demonstrators gathered outside Irving's London residence to denounce him. The next day, July fourth (by the way, the ninth anniversary of the devastating 1984 arson attack against the IHR office-warehouse), a larger crowd of several hundred met at the same place to shout more insults. Among the banners carried by the crowd of Marxists, Jews, homosexuals and Rastafarians were placards reading "Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky!," and " Build a Bolshevik Party, Tribune of All the Op-

pressed!"

That same day, though, about 250 persons defied intimidation and threats to hear and cheer Irving and other speakers at a Revisionist seminar in London. Besides Irving, the audience heard addresses by Kirk Lyons, Leuchter's US attorney, and Georgia attorney Sam Dickson (who addressed the 1986 IHR conference).

In all this, it is gratifying to note that it is a *Revisionist* historian who was—once again—at the forefront of historical discovery. In spite of the well-organized international campaign to boycott and silence him, David Irving remains at the vanguard of his profession—and, by the way, *solely* on the basis of his indisputable knowledge, skill and industry.

It is also gratifying to realize that, as a result of each of these recent controversies, hundreds of thousands—if not millions—of newspaper and magazine readers around the world are now aware that a historian of recognized international stature rejects critical aspects of the orthodox Holocaust extermination story.

California Court Rejects Mermelstein's Appeal

In the latest round in the long-standing effort by Holocaust personality Mel Mermelstein to shut down the Institute for Historical Review, the California Court of Appeal (Second Appellate District, Division Two) ruled on October 28, 1992, decisively in favor of the IHR and co-defendants.

The three judges—Nott, Gates and Fukuto—unanimously rejected Mermelstein's appeal of the dismissal, on September 19, 1991, by Los Angeles Superior Court Judge Steven Lachs, of Mermelstein's complaint of malicious prosecution against IHR and its fellow defendants. (For more on the IHR's 1991 legal victory, see the *IHR Newsletter*, October 1991.)

Five days before its recent ruling, Mermelstein's lawyer had argued before the appeal court that Judge Lachs had erred in finding that the IHR and co-defendant Willis Carto had probable cause to sue Mermelstein for libel.

However, IHR attorney William Hulsy's persuasive brief and oral arguments, as well as Judge Lachs' careful attention to the facts and the law in his decision to grant Hulsy's motions of non-suit and to dismiss Mermelstein's complaint, proved decisive. The ruling of the three appeals court judges was both unanimous and categorical.

As this issue of the *Journal* goes to press, Mermelstein still has an option or two remaining, including petitioning the California Supreme Court to review the appeals court's decision. But the weakness of Mermelstein's factual and legal arguments against Judge Lachs's 1991 ruling, and the clear disfavor in which malicious prosecution complaints are held by the judiciary, make any successful attempt by Mermelstein to salvage his case extremely unlikely.

So, while we have very reasonable grounds for optimism that the long, costly, and potentially ruinous legal struggle will end in complete and final victory for the Institute, we'll wait to uncork the champagne until we receive the final word in the case.

(Ted O'Keefe's book on the Mermelstein case, *Best Witness*, should be available later this year.)

Free Speech Appeal

GET IRVING BACK INTO CANADA!

DAVID IRVING's two-week November battle to stay in Canada ran up $8,000 in legal costs. Also, halls were hired and fees were lost. He needs your help to carry on the fight against the forgers and perjurers in Ottawa.

He has now begun lawsuits in Vancouver and Toronto to get back into Canada. This fight must not fail.

Checks for the **DAVID IRVING LEGAL FIGHTING FUND** can be sent to P.O. Box 1707, Key West, FL 33041 or to P.O. Box 214, 36 Adelaide Street East, Toronto, Ont., M5C 2J1 Canada.

Mr. Irving will personally acknowledge all contributions.

The Fight Goes on —to Final Victory!

The Wages of Apostasy

Life Under Fire

DAVID IRVING

(Presented at the Eleventh IHR Conference, October 1992)

Thank you, United States, for letting me come and speak. I mean that seriously because the fight is now getting quite creepy. For two years now, in country after country, I have been conducting this international Campaign for Real History. During this period, in country after country, I've come up against an international campaign *against* real history—an international campaign full of lies, an international campaign to suppress the truth. The truth of this campaign is quite clearly something that I had previously not wanted to believe: there is, in fact, an international force out there with an influence that transcends frontiers. Day after day, country after country, month after month, I come up against this international force.

In my apartment in London, I've accordingly opened a file titled "Jewish Harassment." This should not be taken to mean, in the slightest, that I am anti-Jewish, because I'm not. The fact that many Jews are anti-Irving does not mean to say that I am anti-Jewish. There's no paradox in that statement. Week after week, month after month, they are causing me immense harassment, embarrassment and distress. But journalists come to me, again and again, and ask me: "Mr. Irving, are you anti-Semitic?" And I reply, "Not yet."

For two years now, I have been the target of this worldwide campaign—in Germany, France, Spain, South Africa, the United States, Canada, Argentina, Brazil, and England. Let me tell you a little about what has been happening in some of these countries.

In Germany, I'm now technically a prohibited person. I can't go there because the German authorities have ordained that David Irving shall no longer cross their frontier. A free democracy, and yet that's the only way they can fight against me: by forbidding me to come in. That edict was issued in March 1990. But since then, I've been in and out of Germany 60 times. I'm not going to tell you how I've done it—but there are ways of doing it.

In Austria, there's an arrest warrant out against me, but no entry prohibition (whereas in Germany there's the entry prohibition but no arrest warrant). So between the two of them you can find a way of getting in. As I said to the Germans the last time I spoke to a mass meeting of 7,000 people in Passau: there are enough people here in plain clothes taking notes for the Ministry of the Interior, and tonight they'll be asked: how did he get in again? To this I can only say: "Go ask your colleagues in Austria how David Irving got in this time."

Banned in South Africa

Besides Germany and Austria, officially I am not permitted to get into Italy or South Africa. Last January and February, I spoke for two months in South Africa, this time visiting 15 towns and cities. Two weeks after I returned to England, a letter arrived from the South African government in Pretoria. It told me: "Mr. Irving, as an Englishman you normally do not require a visa to enter South African territories. For you we are going to make an exception." I reported this ban to the South African newspapers, which discovered in a matter of days that this unique embargo was being placed on me by the South African government at the request of South African Jewish organizations. This was followed by an outcry by other South Africans who wanted to hear me on radio and television, and in person. It was another encroachment on freedom of speech.

Of course, I am able to come and speak here in the United States because you have some-

thing very important, your First Amendment guaranteeing freedom of speech. It is very unlikely, I think, that the United States government would actually stoop to trying to prevent me from coming here to speak. It would be a very, very serious day indeed if that should happen.

In Canada, I have a big speaking tour lined up that is due to start on October the 26th. Yesterday, here in this very hotel [in Irvine, Califronia], I was handed an express letter from the Canadian government informing me that I would not be allowed to enter Canada. Once again, pressure has been exerted by these international groups to keep me from speaking. In this case it was the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles, but the reason given me was this: "Mr. Irving, under the immigration act, a person is not permitted to enter if he has committed a criminal offense in another country, or if he is likely to commit a criminal offense in Canada. We may consider you likely to commit a criminal offense."

After receiving this, I straight away instructed my attorney in Canada to point out that I've been to Canada some 30 times since 1965, and not once have I committed a criminal offense. So, *prima facie*, I am unlikely to commit a criminal offense on the 31st occasion. [On October 26, Irving legally entered Canada. He was illegally arrested—after lecturing on freedom of speech—at Victoria, B.C., and deported on November 13 after a three week court battle. He is appealing.]

Detention in Rome

In June of this year, I went to Italy. I arrived in Rome, after a stop in Munich, from Moscow, where I had been working for two weeks in the former Soviet government's secret state archives. As I got off the plane in Rome, six Carabinieri police cars were waiting for me at the airfield, and as I got into the airport bus, the police stormed the bus, rifles drawn, and called out my name, "Mr. Irving." Ladies and gentlemen, now that's *embarrassing*! Under the circumstances, I tried to make it look as if this was my VIP escort!

They held me there in the police station at Rome's airport for four hours until the plane turned round and flew back to Munich. And half way through, they let in the Italian student who had arrived to meet me there. (I had been invited by a university professor.)

During the police interrogation, I "hadn't understood" a word of Italian, and I made them speak English to me. But when the students came in, I spoke with them in Italian, explaining how sorry I was. Seeing this, the police colonel became very indignant and said: "*Silenzio*, Don't Speak." So I said, "Where does it say that I can't speak?" He repeated, "Silenzio, Don't-a speaka." And I repeated: "Excuse me, but nowhere do I see a sign that says Silenzio." At that, he seized a thick felt-tip pen, and in a blind, Italian temper he went to the magnificently painted wall inside this beautiful, brand new police station, saying "You can't-a see-a? Here!," and wrote the letters S I L E N Z I O on the wall, and then shouted: "*Silenzio*!"

Last October [1991], I spoke in Argentina. On the morning of the first day, I took part in a two-hour television program. (I also speak Spanish.) I was on with a man named Maurizio Maro, but whose real name turned out to be Goldfarb. If only they had told me beforehand! But too late.

Goldfarb asked me questions like: "But Adolf Hitler, he was crazy wasn't he?" And I said: "No, he wasn't." "But of course he was crazy," he retorted. I responded by saying:

> There's no evidence for that at all. The evidence is that we—the British and Americans —captured seven of Hitler's doctors. We interrogated all seven of them on that specific point: Hitler's own physicians were asked if they considered him clinically sane or out of his mind. All of them came to the conclusion that, even until the very last moments of his life, he was totally sane. And not only that, I have personally found Hitler's medical diaries —the diaries kept by his doctor, Theodor Morrell, which I found in the archives in Washington, DC. After transcribing them, I published them. These diaries also confirm, without a doubt at all, that Hitler was perfectly sane and physically normal.

Now considerably agitated, Goldfarb responded: "But the man must be totally crazy because he killed forty million human beings." The first time he threw out this figure, I let it pass, but the second time round, I stopped him, saying: "Forty million? Excuse me, where does *this* figure come from then?" Goldfarb then said: "A person who kills even one man is a criminal." In this case, then, I said, President Bush is a major criminal because of the damage he did in the Gulf War this very February.

At this point, the interview was dramatical-

ly cut short. And the very next day, all the other interviews that had been lined up by my publisher in Argentina were cancelled. Newspaper and television interviews, and a Belgrano University appearance—all were cancelled. It was an object lesson on the influence that certain people have. The day after that (October 18, 1991), a major daily newspaper, *La Nación*, published a communique issued by Argentina's Jewish governing agency, with a headline calling me an "International Agitator." Well, I'm sorry that the Jews get so easily agitated. But it's not my fault. My job is to go there and lecture on the historical truth as I see it.

The Right to be Wrong

I admit that we may be wrong. Each of us in this room may be wrong on this or that matter. But I demand the Right to be Wrong! That is the essence of freedom of speech in any country.

No one is going to define for us what the received version of history is or should be. But that is what they are trying to do now in Germany, and all around the world.

Every other aspect of world history is open to debate and dispute—except one. Anyone who challenges this one aspect of history is automatically, *ipso facto*, described as an anti-Semite. Jewish leaders are now saying that anyone who questions any aspect of the Holocaust is an anti-Semite. Of course, that's not true. We are just lovers of the truth, and determined to get to the bottom of what actually did and did not happen.

I do not insist that what I tell you here today is necessarily the only version of the truth, and that thou shalt have no other truth than this. I'm not as arrogant as that. I do say that this is the best that I can do, given limited resources, and against the harassment that I've come up against in the last few years.

That harassment has gotten worse and worse, particularly with the recent Focal Point publication of the new edition of *Hitler's War*. This new edition contains material never seen before. If you want to see a photograph showing what it looks like when 17,500 people are killed in 30 minutes, here it is. Everyone's heard about Hiroshima and Dresden, but no one knows about what happened in Pforzheim, a small German town in Baden-Württemberg, where one person in four was killed in the most horrible manner in mid-February 1945. We have photos of that crime. I've shown this photograph to audience after audience.

On the previous page of *Hitler's War* are the well-known photographs of Dresden, where a hundred thousand people were killed in a period of twelve hours by the British and Americans. So many were killed so quickly that there weren't enough living left to bury the dead. So the corpses had to be burned on these huge funeral pyres in the Dresden Altmarkt. I published the photographs in 1963 in my first book, *The Destruction of Dresden* and, now, in *Hitler's War*, I publish them for the first time in color.

Window Smashing

There are 60 color photographs in this book, a work that no other publisher could have published so lavishly. Of course, our traditional enemies are absolutely livid because of this book, which is very sought-after in Britain. We published it ourselves, and personally delivered 5,000 copies to 800 book shops up and down the country and around the world.

Our traditional enemies have been fighting back. Their local cells, branches and agents have been visiting—patiently and methodically, one by one—every book shop that stocked this book, demanding that it be "unstocked." Because most book shop managers are not open to intimidation in the way newspapers are, they get their windows smashed. As result, there's been a campaign of window smashing throughout Britain during the last three or four months.

During the night, the big plate-glass windows of the book stores are smashed, and the next morning the stores receive a letter on letterhead of the local synagogue, or the local Jewish Board of Deputies. The letters say "we are very sorry that your windows were smashed, but what can you expect? We promise that if you stop stocking David Irving's books, you will find that this kind of problem ceases."

This campaign—smashing the windows of book stores, big and small, including chain book stores in Britain such as Waterstone's and Dillon's—has been reported in all the local newspapers. I subscribe to a press clipping service, so I get all these clippings. But there's been nothing in the British national newspapers.

And why not? Well, the answer is that these are a different caliber of journalists. I've often

wondered where these journalists come from, these spineless, nasty little creeps such as Bernard Levin of *The Times* of London.

I am philosophical about newspapers. I remember one Monday morning ten years ago when my secretary came to me, saying: "David, how can you stand for it? Have you read what they've written about you yesterday in the *Sunday Times*? It's only a short thing, but you now might as well pack up. You're finished." He read from the article: "David Irving, who appears substantially to have over-estimated his mental stability this time . . ." "They're calling you mad!"

Recycled Lies

I responded by saying, "Okay, so what? Are they going to assign me to some kind of psychiatric gulag archipelago? That's from the *Sunday Times*, and this is Monday." That's the difference between being an author and being a journalist. When I write a book it goes into a library and stays there—especially if it's on acid-free paper. What a journalist writes for the *Sunday Times* appears on Sunday, but by Monday it's wrapping fish 'n chips! So who cares? Or if it's not wrapping fish 'n chips, the paper's being recycled to be made into new newsprint for new lies.

One South African journalist wrote to me during the height of my South African tour in March 1992. I was speaking at meeting after meeting, addressing packed halls. In Pretoria, as usual, 2,000 people came to hear me. In Cape Town, another huge audience turned out to hear me at the Goodwood Civic Centre. The next day, I received a fax letter from a *Cape Times* journalist named Claire Bisseker who earlier had bombarded me with questions about what I thought about President de Klerk, the prospects for South Africa, the ANC, and all the rest of it. This time her letter was quite brief:

> Mr. Irving, the *Cape Times* would like to have your response to the following allegations made by a Capetonian who attended your meeting at Goodwood [Centre] on March 8. The source said that the meeting was of a neo-Nazi nature. Complete with Nazi banners and Nazi salutes. We would appreciate it very much if you could fax back to us your response as soon as you are able.

So I turned this matter over in my mind. "Remember," I told myself, "you're dealing with a journalist—a journalist who will twist whatever you say. If I say that I have no comment, they will print the lies and say that Mr. Irving had no comment. If I deny it, they will print the lies and say that Irving denied it. They will print lies whatever you do." So after some thought, I sent this brief letter to Claire Bisseker:

> Dear Clair,
>
> Thank you for your fax, and I appreciate your inquiry. Yes, you do have excellent sources. Neo-Nazi nature, Nazi banners, and Nazi salutes—the lot. As I marched in, an orchestra struck up the Slaves' Chorus from Verdi's opera, "Aida." Later, the orchestra played the first bars of Franz Liszt's "Les Préludes," and it concluded with Liszt's Opus 63 String Quartet. Meanwhile, searchlight batteries stationed around the Goodwood Civic Centre lit up, their crystal beams joining in a cathedral of ice ten thousand feet above the site; a thousand hands were once more flung aloft in the holy salute, and a thousand throats roared the Horst Wessel anthem. A video is available, directed by Leni Riefenstahl.
>
> I hope the above material suffices for what you have in mind.

That's the way to deal with journalists! I have developed my own techniques in dealing with them.

"Historically Inaccurate"

Too many books are written on the Holocaust. There are too many films and television plays that exploit the subject . . .

There is a fascination with the Holocaust and with Nazism. There may, in fact, be "no business like Shoah business." The problem is that many of these productions, if not most, are historically inaccuate, sentimental, romantic, exotic and hyperbolic, and so they ultimately distort and cheapen the Holocaust.

The popularization and commercialization of the Holocaust is not only unhistorical but it is antihistorical. Over time, it will inevitably subvert the historical sense and strip it of any moral implications it may carry.

—Dr. Michael M. Dobkowski, Professor of Religious Studies at Hobart and William Smith Colleges, writing in *Martyrdom and Resistance* (published by the International Society for Yad Vashem, New York City), Sept.-Oct. 1990, p. 4.

Canadian Media Criticizes Ban

Irving's Most Un-Excellent Adventure

British Historian Deported From Canada for Skeptical Views on Holocaust Story

Zionist Groups Demand Irving's Ouster

GREG RAVEN

As best-selling British historian and author David Irving approached the US-Canadian border at Niagara Falls after a speaking tour in the western United States, he knew that this particular visit to the "Great White North" would be different than previous visits.

Two things had changed since Irving's last visit.

First, in May a German court fined Irving $6,000 for public statements denouncing stories of mass exterminations of Jews in gas chambers at Auschwitz as a myth. (See the report in the July-August 1992 *IHR Newsletter*.)

Second, the Canadian branch of the Los Angeles-based Simon Wiesenthal Center had demanded that the Canadian government ban Irving on account of his Revisionist views on the Holocaust. In other words, the Holocaust lobby sought to ban the historian on the basis of "thought crimes" that are not illegal in either Canada or the United States.

The legal basis given for prohibiting Irving's entry was Section 19 of the Immigration Act, which allows officials to ban someone if it is reasonable to believe that he will commit an indictable offense. In this case, the pretext was nonsense because Irving had visited Canada some 30 times during the last several years, and had never caused a legal problem of any kind.

Irving first learned of the ban on October 10th, when he received a special-delivery letter from the Canadian consulate in Los Angeles sent to him in care of the Institute for Historical Review. It arrived on the first day of the IHR's Eleventh Conference, which was being held in Irvine, California. The letter sent to Irving showed that Canadian authorities—in coordination with Holocaust groups—were closely tracking his itinerary in the United States.

That same day, an editorial condemning Irving appeared in the Kitchener-Waterloo *Record*, further evidence of coordination between official and private Canadian organizations. This coordination was anything but accidental, as indicated by a rally in Kitchener several weeks earlier (on August 31) where speakers called for banning Irving. A more pressing problem for Irving was the fact that Monday, October 13, was a holiday for US government offices, which meant he had one fewer day to get matters straightened out before he was scheduled to reach Canada.

From the IHR Conference in southern California, Irving traveled north to speak in Berkeley, and then on to Portland, Oregon.

His speech there to an audience of about 200 received intense, sensationalized and largely one-sided coverage in the local media, including lead stories on local television. Phil Stanford, a widely-read columnist for the Portland *Oregonian*, the state's largest circulation daily paper, had enraged the city's politically correct crowd when he defended Irving's right to speak, and suggested that the historian might even have something worthwhile to say about the Six Million story.

Before crossing into Canada, Irving discussed the situation by phone with attorney Doug Christie, the "battling barrister from British Columbia" (who spoke at the 1986 IHR Conference). According to Canadian immigration law, Irving would be entitled to a hearing before an immigration adjudicator, and would have the right to stay in the country until a final decision was reached. As a result, Irving decided to proceed with his scheduled tour of Canada, which had as its theme "Freedom of Speech."

Canadian newspapers were now covering

the story. Rejecting the demands of the Wiesenthal Centre and other Holocaust groups, the Ottawa *Citizen* (October 19), for one, took a clear editorial stand for free speech:

> Barring Irving's entry amounts to back-door censorship, which violates the spirit of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms . . .
>
> If we bar Irving because we're afraid of what he might say, what are we to do with a Salman Rushdie, the author who inflamed the Islamic world, a member of the Ku Klux Klan, or the likes of, say, Andrew Dice Clay, the comedian who regularly offends millions of women? Once on a slippery slope, it's difficult to find your footing again.

Monday, October 26

Irving crosses the border into Canada from Niagara Falls (New York). In spite of the supposed order barring him, Canadian authorities do not impede his entry. His passport is stamped to confirm his legal crossing.

Tuesday, October 27

Irving flies from Toronto to Vancouver (British Columbia), in preparation for his first Canadian speaking engagement in nearby Victoria. After arriving, he meets with Christie, who has some bad news.

Christie has spent the day in court attempting to set aside the ban, but in vain: the Federal Court upheld the ban, citing Irving's conviction in Germany (for an action that is not illegal in Canada). The court further ruled that this was a matter for immigration authorities to handle. In light of this, Irving fears that he has a 50-50 chance of arrest at the speech tomorrow, although he is encouraged by his legal crossing into Canada and because the police had so far not molested him.

Wednesday, October 28

Irving addresses an enthusiastic audience of about a hundred at a Chinese restaurant in Victoria. Some journalists are also present to hear him speak, not about the Holocaust, but about the struggle for freedom of speech and its meaning for truthful historiography.

At the conclusion of a question-and-answer session that follows the presentation, eight policemen enter. After announcing that the building is surrounded and all exits are blocked, they arrest Irving, slap him in handcuffs, and haul him off to jail, preventing even reporters from following. Although Christie demands to see an arrest warrant, none is produced. Several dozen of those attending the meeting go to the police station to protest the arrest.

"They put me in handcuffs. What did they think I was going to do, type?"

October 28-30

Over the next two days, Irving is moved from jail to jail—five in all. As a result, he is not able to meet with his attorney, Doug Christie.

Friday, October 30

After a fruitless attempt to get some sleep amid the noise of his fellow prisoners, Irving is fetched from his cell and forced to run a gauntlet of screaming and punching television crews and reporters. Without Christie there, Irving must represent himself at the hearing.

The official at the hearing who makes the government's case for deporting the historian cites, first, Irving's "criminal record" in Germany, and, second, an alleged likelihood that he will commit offenses in Canada. The official is not required to prove the truth of these allegations.

The adjudicator informs Irving that the hearing will determine whether he will be released, deported, or served with a "Voluntary Departure Notice." Ominously, the adjudicator also says that he expects the hearing to last three to four weeks.

Without access to or benefit of his attorney, Irving is faced with a decision. Even though he might be exonerated in a full hearing, by the time it is over he will have missed all his speaking dates. Conceding the possibility that he might not be exonerated, he recognizes that there is little point in staying.

Thus Irving comes to a compromise agreement with the government: he agrees not to contest a "Voluntary Departure Notice," and to leave the country within 48 hours—that is, before midnight, November 1.

In agreeing to this, Irving at the same time emphasizes that he will be free to return later to Canada.

David Irving is surrounded by journalists as he is led into his deportation hearing in Vancouver, October 30. Because of his views on the Holocaust story, the best-selling British historian was deported from Canada November 13. Reuters/Bettmann photo.

Irving also specifically asks the hearing adjudicator what conditions, if any, there are on his activities in Canada during the 48 hours he can still remain in the country. The adjudicator replies that there are "no conditions whatsoever," Irving rather understandably takes this to mean that he is free to grant interviews and otherwise speak in public.

After his handcuffs are taken off, Irving is finally set free.

With nearly two dozen news teams crowding around, Irving then gives a 20-minute press conference. He not only answers questions about his hearing, but also makes a lengthy statement about the Holocaust.

That evening, Irving's impromptu press conference is featured as a major news story on national television, no doubt to the chagrin of those who had been trying so hard to silence the historian and keep him out the country.

Following the news conference, US citizen Brian Fisher approaches Irving and offers to drive him around to pick up his belongings. But what appears to be a simple offer of help turns into a request that Irving authenticate a collection of lithographs, which necessitates a trip to Blaine (Washington), just across the border in the United States. Tired, but thinking this might be a good opportunity to see if he will have any other problems crossing the border, Irving agrees.

They cross the border without any trouble at about ten o'clock that evening. After authenticating and signing *the lithographs* as requested, Irving and Fisher return to Canada before midnight.

Sunday, November 1

In the morning, Irving packs his things to check out of the Toronto hotel, preparing to leave the country by midnight (as agreed). A strange incident takes place as he checks out. The clerk at the front desk is not able to gain access to Irving's hotel computer file because someone else is looking at it—possibly Canadian police or immigration officials, or perhaps even the Mossad.

That afternoon, he delivers a one-hour speech to massive applause and two standing ovations. Afterwards, he is approached by undercover officers who announce that they will stay with him until he crosses the border.

Giving them the slip, Irving hails a cab and whisks off for a short meeting with Ernst Zündel at his house. Just seconds after Irving leaves, *Zündelhaus* is surrounded by police cars that skid into position front and back.

After dinner and a round-about journey to Niagara Falls using secondary roads to avoid further problems with undercover police, Irving arrives at the border at 11:00 p.m.

Then disaster strikes. Irving inadvertently drives past the inconspicuous building where he was supposed to have his "Voluntary Departure Notice" stamped before leaving the country. By the time he realizes that something must be amiss, he has crossed over the bridge and into the US side of the border.

He asks the US border official for permission to return to have his document stamped. The guard asks to see it, then takes it away and instructs Irving to park his car and follow him.

With time quickly draining away, the official makes a few calls. He then informs Irving that he will not be admitted into the United States, citing regulation "212.A.7a.i.1." He tells Irving to try again in the morning.

But after returning to the Canadian side at 11:30 p.m., a guard who was clearly aware of the situation tells Irving to step from the car and unload his belongings. The official presents him an arrest warrant, and Irving is denied bail because of the danger that he "would not appear" and because he is a "danger to the public." Handcuffed once again, Irving is driven to the immigration detention center at Niagara Falls.

Monday, November 2

Awakened in jail at 6:30 a.m. after only three hours sleep, Irving is able to place a call to alert Christie of the new situation.

Transported in handcuffs to the courtroom, Irving learns that the grounds on which he had earlier been denied admittance to Canada have all been dropped, replaced instead by the single charge of failure to comply with the Voluntary Departure Notice. It now seems obvious that Canadian immigration officials knew from the start that they had no chance of excluding Irving on the flimsy original charges.

At the hearing, an undercover police officer lies under oath about his conversations with Irving, and another officer lies about Irving's status in Germany and Austria, recommending that bail not be offered because "Mr. Irving might not reappear." The adjudicator agrees, and Irving is returned to jail pending a resumption of the hearing on Wednesday.

Tuesday, November 3

Irving's position seems deceptively simple. If he can establish that he made his impromptu trip with Brian Fisher across the border to Blaine, he can prove technical compliance with the Voluntary Departure Notice. Unfortunately, Fisher lives on the other side of the continent, and Doug Christie has not been able to locate him.

Wednesday, November 4

Hearing day. Fisher has been found, but hesitates for personal reasons to back up Irving's story. In the meantime, however, local resident Louis Martens, who had met Irving only a few days before, offers Irving up to $20,000 cash for bail. Christie asks for bail and the adjudicator agrees—in spite of strident protest by the case presenting officer. Irving again asks if there are any restrictions on his behavior while out on bail. The adjudicator stipulates only that Irving must stay in Niagara Falls. However, he also insists that Irving must produce Fisher's testimony.

Thursday, November 5

Now out on bail, Irving focuses on preparing his legal case for the next hearing session. Fisher changes his mind about validating Irving's claim of leaving the country, and sends a notarized affidavit.

Friday, November 6

Irving arrives early at the Immigration Hearing Centre, but not early enough to avoid

the Jewish mob demonstrating outside. To accommodate the many journalists and reporters who are there to cover the story, a special media room is set aside in the building.

Once the hearing gets underway, the case presenting officer retracts a statement he made two days earlier that license numbers of vehicles crossing the border are not recorded. Instead, he now introduces into evidence a US Immigration and Naturalization Service print-out that purports to be a log of border crossing activity. Christie immediately challenges the document, noting that the official who swore to its authenticity had not sworn that it is a complete record. The adjudicator denies Christie's motion to subpoena the official for further testimony.

Now it is imperative that Brian Fisher testify in person. During the lunch break, Christie succeeds in convincing Fisher that he must appear. Fisher can also supply copies of his phone bill, showing long-distance phone calls made by Irving during his brief stay in Blaine. Irving already has affidavits from the recipients of those calls. All this would seem to be enough to prove conclusively that Irving had indeed left Canada, and thus has technically complied with the terms of the Voluntary Departure Notice. Even the adjudicator is forced to agree that Fisher's testimony is "a pivotal one which may make or break this case." The hearing is adjourned until Thursday, the 12th.

November 7-11

Irving divides his time between making personal appearances (which now include fund-raising to offset his rapidly escalating legal costs), and ensuring that he has everything needed for his case at the next hearing session.

On Saturday, the 7th, Irving appears in Kitchener. Two days later, the case presenting officer calls to warn Irving that the Canadian Jewish Congress is blaming him for an arson fire at the office of an anti-Irving demonstrator in Kitchener, which was started the same night Irving was in town.

Thursday, November 12

Writing in today's Toronto *Sun*, columnist Bill Dunphy puts his finger on the key issue in the legal battle. "Who's lying?" he asks. Against a computer print-out, which in all probability is either incomplete or has been expertly doctored by unknown persons, Irving can present sworn testimony, telephone records, and affidavits.

Irving's arrival at the Immigration Hearing Centre is greeted by an even larger crowd of media crews and demonstrators, who await him in a pouring rain. The case presenting officer ruthlessly cross-examines Brian Fisher (sometimes even wandering away from the matters at hand), but Fisher sticks to his story. In the end, the case presenting officer has little to do but lamely invent a scenario in which Irving plotted to confuse the border guards and create a misleading print-out report. Christie points out that for this tale to be credible, Irving would have to be a fortune-teller. He would have to have known on October 30—two days in advance of his failed border crossing on November 1—that he would need such an elaborate alibi.

To everyone's dismay, the adjudicator puts off announcing his decision until the following day.

Friday, November 13

Upon his arrival at the Immigration Hearing Centre, Irving is approached by the case presenting officer, who wants the historian to know that he is not acting on his own, but under orders from "on high." He also warns Irving against fulfilling a planned personal appearance at Carleton University in Ottawa in the event of his release, as there are orders from "on high" to re-arrest him for misrepresentation, this time regarding his border crossing at Blaine, Washington. With this new information, Irving promptly walks down the hallway and announces it to a room full of waiting reporters and journalists.

When the adjudicator reads his verdict, however, it makes all these machinations moot. Irving's version of events, he declares, is

> . . . a total fabrication and never took place. I can only speculate that you and your supporters concocted your story to garner further publicity and prolong your stay in Canada, both of which you have done with some success.

According to the adjudicator, Irving never traveled to Blaine, Brian Fisher did not accompany him, the phone calls from Fisher's house were not made by Irving, and the sworn testimony of six persons was all perjured. (The adjudicator simply ignores the question of

how Irving could have known he would need an alibi two days in advance of an unexpected occurrence.) He orders Irving deported.

Irving then steps forward with a writ of habeas corpus, while the case presenting officer is simultaneously served a similar writ.

Instead of heeding the writs, the adjudicator orders Irving taken into custody. After a brief stay in a holding cell, Irving is allowed to make a statement to waiting reporters and journalists.

After being allowed to collect his belongings, Irving is driven to Toronto airport for a six-hour wait until his plane is to depart. During the ride to the airport, immigration officers question Irving about the Kitchener arson. At 8:10 p.m., with David Irving on board, Air Canada flight 856 lifts off from Toronto airport on its way to London.

The next day, Bill Dunphy of the Toronto *Sun* reported that "spokesmen for the Canadian Jewish Congress and B'nai B'rith lauded the decision." And no one else.

Media Treatment and Public Opinion

Canadian press treatment of the Irving affair—like popular opinion—was mixed. While expressing little, if any, support for Irving's Revisionist views on the Holocaust, as time went on a consensus developed in the Canadian press that the British historian should be allowed to speak in Canada.

Predictably, of course, Holocaust lobby groups such as the Simon Wiesenthal Centre and the Canadian Jewish Congress did everything in their power to poison the atmosphere against the historian, and to portray him as a grave threat to social stability.

Reflecting the dangerous but carefully articulated views of the organized Jewish community—and its vigorous behind-the-scenes efforts to keep Irving out of Canada—B'nai B'rith Canada official Ian Kagedan insisted that "Holocaust denial poses a real danger to our social fabric."

In a lengthy op-ed opinion piece in the Ottawa *Citizen* (Nov. 6), the Zionist official told readers that Irving's "presence is an insult to Holocaust survivors and Canadian veterans." Remarkably, he conceded that "Immigration's decision to bar Irving and its subsequent efforts to expel him may be of special interest to only a few in our country . . ." Contrary to reason and common sense, Kagedan went on to assert that ". . . it is folly to claim that there is a free speech issue here."

Writing in another newspaper (*Globe and Mail*, Nov. 9), Kagedan stressed that Irving is a danger because he is a "Holocaust denier," and that his "hate propaganda undermines democracy." The B'nai B'rith official even perversely maintained that "deporting Mr. Irving would affirm our commitment to democracy."

To their credit, most Canadians rejected such convoluted and self-serving arguments. Indeed, as the Irving affair unfolded, the words and actions of the Holocaust lobby become so frantic that it was obvious, even to the most uninformed, that the only section of society seriously pushing to keep the historian out of Canada was the small but well organized international Zionist-Jewish lobby.

Echoing the Holocaust-lobby line, a number of Canadian newspapers referred to Irving as a "Holocaust denier." The Vancouver *Sun* of October 15 told readers that "Irving has repeatedly given speeches and written books denying the Holocaust." Elsewhere in this same issue, writer Pete McMartin added to the disinformation campaign:

> [Irving] bills himself as a "historian" and has claimed to have attended the University of London, but files collected on Irving by the Canadian Jewish Congress show he only attended outside lectures at the university and was never enrolled as a student. They also say he has no academic qualifications as a historian.

Toronto *Sun* columnist Bill Dunphy called Irving an "amateur historian, Holocaust revisionist, and darling of the international neo-Nazi movement." This is, of course, a favorite smear tactic: attacking the person when it is impossible to attack the person's work.

A few Canadian newspapers shamefully embraced the entire Holocaust-lobby line. The Ottawa *Sun*, a sensational tabloid, attacked Irving in a hateful editorial (Nov. 3), calling him a "reptile," a "creature," a "racist," and "repulsive." These words appeared along with a vicious editorial cartoon depicting the historian as a demented, swastika-wearing lunatic.

Fortunately, such ravings were rare. Indeed, with the passage of time, coverage of the Irving affair become noticeably more fair and even-handed.

While almost never acknowledging that Irving's views about the Holocaust story might

have some validity, more and more Canadian newspapers defied the Holocaust lobby and their own government by expressing support—sometimes in strong terms—of Irving's right to speak in Canada.

As the affair reached its climax, a kind of consensus emerged: regardless of how offensive his views may be to a small but vociferous minority, Irving should not be barred from the country.

An opinion piece in the Kitchener-Waterloo *Record* (Nov. 3) was typical. Staff writer Barry Ries forthrightly pointed out:

> The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms says "everyone" has the right to "freedom of thought, belief, opinion, and expression, including freedom of the press and other media of communication, freedom of peaceful assembly, and freedom of association . . ."
>
> The Charter does not say that this right only applies to people we agree with or to people who don't upset us . . .
>
> This freedom does not go down well with some people . . . These people are perfectly within their rights to protest and demonstrate and picket and present the facts we all know so well.
>
> But rights don't end with one segment of the population. Immigration officials have been pressured—by the Simon Wiesenthal Center for Holocaust Studies and by B'nai B'rith Canada—to gag Irving, and that's what's been done.

Vancouver *Province* columnist Shane McCune, in a piece entitled "Let's leave fascism to the fascists" (Oct. 30), similarly affirmed Irving's right to speak:

> I'm tired of everyone—left, right, feminist, Bible-thumper—who says, "I support free speech, but . . ."
>
> No buts about it. It's easy to support freedom of speech when you agree with the speaker. The real test comes when you are asked to defend the unpopular. I'm afraid Canadians fail that test more often than not.

The Victoria (B.C.) *Times-Colonist* suggested in an editorial (Oct. 30) that even accounts of the treatment of Europe's Jews during the Second World War should be critically scrutinized like any other chapter of history. The paper also argued against restrictions on Irving's right to speak:

> There is, of course, no single, definitive version of historical events. Individuals are rewriting them all the time, offering interpretations and analyses that offend, infuriate, and disgust thousands of other people . . . should [the Holocaust] be exempt from that never-ending process?
>
> Each new restriction makes [Irving] more of a martyr. It is also . . . a denial of one of the cherished tenets of democracy, freedom of expression.

Affirming the cause of reason and common sense, Canada's most influential daily paper mocked the Zionist-orchestrated campaign to ban Irving. In a forthright editorial (Nov. 5), the prestigious Toronto *Globe and Mail* declared:

> If the Canadian government devoted half the time and energy to ordinary law enforcement that it has to pursuing and incarcerating David Irving, crime would be unknown. Yet Mr. Irving is guilty of no crime in Canadian law, and poses no threat to life, property, or public order.
>
> The only crime the government can suggest Mr. Irving is even likely to commit is that of willfully promoting hatred: a law of such surpassing vagueness as to be unworthy of a liberal society.
>
> This is not the first time Mr. Irving has visited Canada. He has been here often, including speaking tours . . . The Dominion did not perish.
>
> We can't imagine anything he might say could do half as much harm to Canada's reputation for tolerance as the picture, printed in the newspapers, of a writer in handcuffs—for fear, we suppose, that he might type something. We have not as yet put a price on his head, in the style of Iran. But our horror of the word looks much the same.

Reflecting the views of the country's liberal intellectual community, the Canadian branch of PEN, the influential "world association of poets, playwrights, publishers, editors, essayists, novelists, translators, and journalists," expressed grave concern at the campaign to bar Irving. In a news release issued November 5, the writer's group declared:

> The Canadian Centre of International PEN is deeply concerned about the detention of author David Irving. Canada has often been in the forefront of human rights and civil liberties issues abroad, but Mr. Irving's detention raises extremely serious questions

about our commitment to freedom of expression at home.

While Mr. Irving's present position in Canada appears to involve specific breaches of Canadian immigration law, the issue as a whole raises the larger question of freedom of expression . . .

PEN Canada unequivocally maintains that freedom of expression, in all its variety, is fundamental to a democratic society and must therefore be supported in full and without any form of censorship . . . We maintain that Canadians do not need to be "protected" against the free flow of ideas, and are capable of determining for themselves what is valid and what is nonsensical. If Canadians want to hear foreign speakers, it is their right to do so . . .

Censorship has never been an appropriate way of dealing with the problem of conflicting, insensitive, evil, or fallacious opinion...

As already indicated, even Canadian papers that supported Irving's right to speak carefully suppressed intelligent expressions of the Revisionist view of the Holocaust story. Many Canadians—albeit probably a minority—were dismayed by the strongly anti-Revisionist bias of almost the entire Canadian media.

In a reader's letter published in the *Toronto Star* (Nov. 16), Joyce Medley of Willowdale (Ont.) echoed the legitimate concerns of many intelligent and informed fellow Canadians:

The media has suppressed, cut, taped, pasted, edited, filtered, shortened, fabricated and otherwise disguised every unchallengeable, albeit controversial statement that comes from David Irving or from any of the revisionist historians.

When the editor's shears finally come to rest, where is there a person who can find the truth among all the jagged remains commonly called the free press?

If you were the least bit interested in true journalism, you would print one of the many revisionist historians' repeated invitations to the academic community to debate this Holocaust controversy . . .

What sort of truth is it that needs protection?

Once and for all, reach deep inside and grasp hold of that last vestige of honor, be honest with yourself and be honest with the public, and let the blasted cow chips fall where they may!

Conclusion

Thoughtful criticisms of the ban against Irving were ultimately not enough to keep Irving from being deported. His expulsion on November 13 set a very dangerous precedent, because it may be used as a pretext by officials in other countries—particularly other Commonwealth countries such as Australia—to bar the British historian.

If Canada—a country noted for its tradition of (relative) tolerance—can bar Irving, where can he count on a welcome?

For a professional historian like Irving, such bans not only represent a severe financial setback, they keep him from important archives and other historical sources, and thus strike at the heart of his work and career. For Irving, for whom working in archives around the world is an essential part of his livelihood, such bans represent a condemnation to slow professional death.

There is another crucial issue at stake here: the role of a powerful international lobby in subverting traditional guarantees of freedom of speech. Not all speech, of course, just speech that offends a tiny segment of the world's population.

Although this small minority group was able to eject David Irving from Canada, its victory came at a price. From the beginning of September to the middle of November—nearly two and one-half months—the Holocaust controversy was a major news story in Canada.

What began as an effort to silence opposition to the politically correct line on the Holocaust issue turned into a three-ring circus, in which the star performer was none other than David Irving. The fact that he did not slink obediently back to his assigned perch at the first crack of the ringmaster's whip served to be a major embarrassment to those hoping to have the entertainment serve their own ends.

In going after David Irving in Canada, the Holocaust establishment once again bit off more than it could chew—and the struggle is far from over.

From his home in London, Irving vows to press the fight until he is once again free to travel to Canada. And as he fights, he has not only truth and the best traditions of Western civilization on his side, he can also count as allies those who, through the publicity that attended this most recent violation against Western values, now realize that the enemies of Holocaust revisionism will stop at nothing to defend their sacred legend.

The Legacy of Rudolf Hess

MARK WEBER

On the evening of May 10, 1941, the Deputy Führer of the Third Reich set out on a secret mission that was to be his last and most important. Under cover of darkness, Rudolf Hess took off in an unarmed Messerschmidt 110 fighter-bomber from an Augsburg airfield and headed across the North Sea toward Britain. His plan was to negotiate peace between Germany and Britain.

Four hours later, after successfully evading British anti-aircraft fire and a pursuing Spitfire, Hess parachuted, for the first time in his life, and sprained his ankle landing in a Scottish farm field. An astonished farmer found the injured pilot and turned him over to the local Home Guard unit.[1]

Winston Churchill promptly rejected Hess' peace offer and jailed him as a prisoner of war, even though he had arrived unarmed and of his own free will. Rudolf Hess, ambassador of peace, was to remain a prisoner until his death in August 1987 at the age of 93.

For many, the passing of the one-time Deputy Führer and last surviving member of Hitler's inner circle simply marked the welcome end of a terrible era. But his true legacy is something far different. He spent 46 years—half his life—behind bars, a victim of a cruel victor's justice. More than any other man, Rudolf Hess symbolizes the vindictiveness and hypocrisy of the Nuremberg Tribunal.

The Mission

Hess was deeply shaken by Britain's declaration of war against Germany in September 1939. With Hitler's approval, he began a secret effort a few months later to negotiate a peace agreement between the two "fraternal Germanic nations" through British officials in neutral Portugal and Switzerland.[2] When the endeavor failed, Hess began preparations for his flight to Britain, an unquestionably sincere if perhaps naive effort to end war between his beloved homeland and a nation he greatly admired.

"My coming to England in this way is, as I realize, so unusual that nobody will easily understand it," Hess told a British official a few weeks after the flight. "I was confronted by a very hard decision. I do not think I could have arrived at my final choice [to fly to Britain] unless I had continually kept before my eyes the vision of an endless line of children's coffins with weeping mothers behind them, both English and German, and another line of coffins of mothers with mourning children."[3]

Though there was little chance that Hess' mission could have succeeded, some aspects of his flight and its aftermath remain unclear. The British government took the extraordinary step of sealing dozens of Hess documents for release only in the year 2017. Sefton Delmer, the wartime head of Britain's propaganda broadcasts to Germany, has speculated that the British government might have had good reasons for the secrecy:[4]

> At the time, Churchill published nothing about the Hess case; he was passed over in silence. There was a large peace party in Britain, and Churchill probably feared that this party would throw him from his Ministerial seat because he had not agreed to Hess' peace proposals.

Victor's Justice

At the end of the war, Hess was taken to Nuremberg to be tried, along with other German leaders, by the United States, Britain, the Soviet Union and France as one of the "major war criminals."

Although Hess was perhaps treated more unjustly than any other man on trial at Nuremberg, the Tribunal itself was of doubtful legal and moral standing. Many prominent men in America and Europe pointed out that the process violated two cardinal principles.

First, it was a trial of the victors against the vanquished. The former were their own law maker, prosecutor, judge, alleged victim

and, in part, accomplice (in the case of the Soviets, in the division of Poland).

Second, the charges were invented for the occasion and defined after the fact ("*ex post facto*").

US Supreme Court Chief Justice Harlan Fiske Stone called the trials a fraud. "[Chief US prosecutor] Jackson is away conducting his high-grade lynching party in Nuremberg," he wrote. "I don't mind what he does to the Nazis, but I hate to see the pretense that he is running a court and proceeding according to common law. This is a little too sanctimonious a fraud to meet my old-fashioned ideas."[5]

Associate Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas charged that the Allies were guilty of "substituting power for principle" at Nuremberg.[6] He later also wrote: "I thought at the time and still think that the Nuremberg trials were unprincipled. Law was created ex post facto to suit the passion and clamor of the time."[7]

Soviet participation in the "International Military Tribunal" lent it the aura of a political show trial. Judge I. T. Nikitchenko, who presided at the solemn opening session, had been a judge at the infamous Moscow show trial of Zinoviev and Kamenev in 1936. Before the Tribunal convened, Nikitchenko explained the Soviet view of the enterprise:[8]

> We are dealing here with the chief war criminals who have already been convicted and whose conviction has been already announced by both the Moscow and Crimea [Yalta] declarations by the heads of the [Allied] governments . . . The whole idea is to secure quick and just punishment for the crime.

Besides the Tribunal's dubious legal standing, it held Hess and the other German leaders to a standard to which the Allies were never held. In sharp contrast to his public utterances, the chief US prosecutor at Nuremberg, Robert Jackson, privately acknowledged in a letter to President Truman that the Allies[9]

> have done or are doing some of the very things we are prosecuting the Germans for. The French are so violating the Geneva Convention in the treatment of [German] prisoners of war that our command is taking back prisoners sent to them [for forced labor in France]. We are prosecuting plunder and our Allies are practicing it. We say aggressive war is a crime and one of our allies asserts sovereignty over the Baltic States based on no title except conquest.

Nothing better points up the essential injustice of the Nuremberg process than the court's treatment of Rudolf Hess.

He was in the dock primarily because of his important-sounding but somewhat hollow title of Deputy Führer. His duties as Hitler's stand-in were almost entirely ceremonial: He delivered the annual Christmas address to the nation, welcomed delegations of ethnic Germans from abroad, appeared at charitable functions, and presented the Führer at the annual Nuremberg party congress. It is this image of the wide-eyed and ecstatic Hess that much of the world remembers best, most of all from a brief clip of him from the Leni Riefenstahl film of the 1934 Congress, "Triumph of the Will."

Known as the "conscience of the party," he often used what power and influence he had to intervene on behalf of victims of persecution by extremists in the National Socialist party. In his detailed study, *Justice at Nuremberg*, which is generally very critical of the German defendants, historian Robert E. Conot called Hess a "decent and honest" man and "a pacifist at heart."[10]

In their Nuremberg indictment of the Deputy Führer, the four Allied powers predictably portrayed him in the most sinister way possible.[11] "Hess began his conspiratorial activities immediately upon termination of World War I by joining militaristic and nationalistic organizations," it charged. It went on to absurdly claim that "Hess was one of the members of the [Nazi] conspiracy who professed as early as 1933 the aim of complete world domination." The joint Allied indictment concluded with the almost ludicrous words:

> All through the years from 1920 to 1941 Hess remained the most faithful and relentless executor of Hitler's aims and designs. This complete devotion to the success of the conspiracy was climaxed by his flight in Scotland in an attempt to end the war with England [!] and to receive English support for Germany's demands against Russia, which he had helped to prepare.
>
> The share of Hess' participation in the Nazi conspiracy is as great as that of the Party which he directed. The Party's crimes are his.

In fact, the Allied case against Hess was weak. The Führer had kept his deputy in the dark about his foreign policy and military decisions. It was clearly established at Nuremberg that Hess had not been present at any of the meetings at which Hitler discussed his military plans.[12] And, of course, he could not be held responsible for German actions that took place after his flight to Britain, including those carried out during the campaign against the Soviet Union.

Nevertheless, the Tribunal declared Hess guilty of "crimes against peace" ("planning and preparation of aggressive war") and of "conspiracy" with other German leaders to commit the alleged crimes, but innocent of "war crimes" and "crimes against humanity."

No reputable historian today believes the Nuremberg charge that Hess was guilty of "crimes against peace." Almost all of the criticism of Hess in recent years has focused instead on his signature on the 1935 Nuremberg laws that stripped German Jews of their rights as full citizens and banned marriage and sexual relations between Jews and non-Jews. These laws allegedly "paved the way" for the extermination of the Jews several years later.[13] Whatever the merits of this argument, Hess had nothing to do with the drafting or promulgation of these laws, and his signature on them was completely pro forma. And even so, the laws were domestic statutes that have had counterparts in numerous other countries, including the United States.

Unlike fellow defendant Albert Speer, the wartime armaments minister who did far more than the Deputy Führer to keep Germany's war machine going but who received only a 20 year sentence, Hess refused to ingratiate himself with the Tribunal. He expressed no remorse for his loyal support of Hitler and the National Socialist regime.

In his final statement to the court on August 31, 1946, he declared:

> I had the privilege of working for many years of my life under the greatest son my nation has brought forth in its thousand-year history. Even if I could, I would not wish to expunge this time from my life.
>
> I am happy to know that I have done my duty towards my people, my duty as a German, as a National Socialist, as a loyal follower of my Führer. I regret nothing.
>
> No matter what people may do, one day I shall stand before the judgment seat of God Eternal. I will answer to Him, and I know that He will absolve me.

When it came time to decide his sentence, the judges were not inclined to deal leniently with such an unrepentant defendant. The Soviet judge and his alternate thought he should be executed. The British and American judges and the American and French alternates voted for life imprisonment, while the French judge suggested a sentence of twenty years. The British alternate abstained. They settled on life imprisonment.[14]

The eminent British historian Professor A. J. P. Taylor summed up the injustice of the Hess case in a 1969 statement:[15]

> Hess came to this country in 1941 as an ambassador of peace. He came with the . . . intention of restoring peace between Great Britain and Germany.
>
> He acted in good faith. He fell into our hands and was quite unjustly treated as a prisoner of war. After the war, we could have released him.
>
> No crime has ever been proven against Hess . . . As far as the records show, he was never at even one of the secret discussions at which Hitler explained his war plans.
>
> He was of course a leading member of the Nazi Party. But he was no more guilty than any other Nazi or, if you wish, any other German. All the Nazis, all the Germans, were carrying on the war. But they were not all condemned because of this.

That Rudolf Hess—the only one at Nuremberg who had risked his life for peace—was found guilty of "crimes against peace" was certainly the Tribunal's most ironic perversion of justice.

Spandau

From 1947 until his death, Hess was held in West Berlin's Spandau prison, which was run by the four Allied powers. Regulations stipulated that "imprisonment will be in the form of solitary confinement" and forbad prison officials to ever call Hess by name. He was addressed only as "prisoner No. 7."

Conditions were so bad that French chaplain Pastor Casalis protested to the prison Directorate in 1950: "It can safely be said that Spandau has become a place of mental torture to an extent that does not permit the Christian conscience to remain silent . . ."[16]

For 20 years, Hess at least had the limited company of a few other Nuremberg defen-

dants, but from October 1966 until his death 21 years later, he was the only inmate in the fortress-like prison originally built for 600. He was, in the words of Spandau's American Director, Lt. Col. Eugene Bird, "the loneliest man in the world."

Keeping this one man in Spandau cost the West German government about 850,000 marks a year. In addition, each of the four Allied powers had to provide an officer and 37 soldiers during their respective shifts, as well as a director and team of warders throughout the entire year. The permanent maintenance staff of 22 included cooks, waitresses and cleaners.

In the final years of his life, Hess was a weak and frail old man, blind in one eye, who walked stooped forward with a cane. He lived in virtually total isolation according to a strictly regulated daily routine. During his rare meetings with his wife and son, he was not allowed to embrace or even touch them.[17]

Long before his death, Hess' imprisonment had become a grotesque and absurd spectacle.

Even Winston Churchill expressed regret over his treatment. In 1950 he wrote:[18]

> Reflecting upon the whole of the story, I am glad not to be responsible for the way in which Hess has been and is being treated. Whatever may be the moral guilt of a German who stood near to Hitler, Hess had, in my view, atoned for this by his completely devoted and frantic deed of lunatic benevolence. He came to us of his own free will, and, though without authority, had something of the quality of an envoy. He was a medical and not a criminal case, and should be so regarded.

In a 1977 interview, Sir Hartley Shawcross, who was Britain's chief prosecutor at Nuremberg, called the continued imprisonment of Hess a "scandal."[19]

The injustice against Hess was not something that happened once and was quickly over. It was, rather, a wrong that went on, day after day, for 46 years. Rudolf Hess was a prisoner of peace and a victim of a vindictive age.

Notes

1. Ilse Hess, *Rudolf Hess: Prisoner of Peace* (Torrance, Calif.: IHR, 1982), pp. 31-38, 25-27; Wolf R. Hess, *My Father Rudolf Hess* (London: W.H. Allen, 1986), pp. 17-24; Eugene K. Bird, *Prisoner # 7: Rudolf Hess*, (New York: Viking Press, 1974), pp. 184, 200, 209-210.
2. W. R. Hess, *My Father Rudolf Hess*, pp. 50, 66-67; Ilse Hess, *Rudolf Hess: Prisoner of Peace*, pp. 15, 24.
3. Hess statement to Sir John Simon, June 10, 1941. Quoted in: Ilse Hess, *Rudolf Hess: Prisoner of Peace*, p. 14.
4. Quoted in: W. R. Hess, *My Father Rudolf Hess*, pp. 391-392.
5. Alpheus T. Mason, *Harlan Fiske Stone: Pillar of the Law* (New York: Viking, 1956), p. 716.
6. William O. Douglas, *An Almanac of Liberty* (1954), p. 96. Quoted in: William J. Bosch, *Judgment on Nuremberg* (Chapel Hill, NC: Univ. of North Carolina, 1970), pp. 132-133.
7. Quoted in: H. K. Thompson, Jr. and Henry Strutz, eds., *Doenitz at Nuremberg: A Reappraisal*, (Torrance, Calif.: 1983), p. 196.
8. *Report of Robert Jackson, United States Representative to the International Conference on Military Trials, London, 1945* (Washington, DC: US State Dept., 1949), pp. 104-106, 303.; Whitney R. Harris, *Tyranny on Trial: The Evidence at Nuremberg* (Dallas: S.M.U. Press, 1954), pp. 16-17.
9. Jackson letter to Truman, Oct. 12, 1945. Quoted in: Robert E. Conot, *Justice at Nuremberg* (New York: Harper & Row, 1983), p. 68.
10. R. Conot, *Justice at Nuremberg* (New York: Harper & Row, 1983), p. 44.
11. Office of the United States Chief of Counsel for the Prosecution of Axis Criminality, *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression* (11 vols.), Washington, DC: US Gov't., 1946-1948. (The "red series."), Volume 2, pp. 466, 469, 477-478.
12. R. Conot, *Justice at Nuremberg*, pp. 347-348, 501; W. R. Hess, *My Father Rudolf Hess*, p. 229.
13. See, for example: "Rudolf Hess," *Washington Post* (editorial), August 19, 1987; Letter by Marvin Hier and Abraham Cooper, *The New York Times*, May 1, 1984.
14. R. Conot, *Justice at Nuremberg*, p. 487; W. R. Hess, *My Father Rudolf Hess*, pp. 235-236.
15. *Sunday Express*, London, April 27, 1969. Quoted in: W. R. Hess, *My Father Rudolf Hess*, pp. 392-393.
16. W. R. Hess, *My Father Rudolf Hess*, pp. 265-266.
17. Eugene K. Bird, *Prisoner # 7: Rudolf Hess*, p. 152 and passim.
18. Winston S. Churchill, *The Grand Alliance* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1950), p. 55.
19. Interview with *Bild am Sonntag*, April 10, 1977. Quoted in: Wolf R. Hess, *My Father Rudolf Hess*, p. 402.

A Son's Struggle for His Father's Honor

The Life and Death of My Father, Rudolf Hess

WOLF RÜDIGER HESS

(Presented by videotape at the Eleventh IHR Conference, 1992)

When my father flew to Scotland on May 10, 1941, I was three-and-a-half years old. As a result, I have only very few personal memories of him in freedom. One of them is a memory of him pulling me out of the garden pond. On another occasion, when I was screaming because a bat had somehow gotten into the house. I can still recall his comforting voice as he carried it to the window and released it into the night.

In the years that followed, I learned who my father was, and about his role in history, only bit by bit. Slowly, I came to understand the martyrdom he endured as a prisoner in the Allied Military Prison in Berlin-Spandau for 40 long years—half a life-time.

Growing Up in Egypt and Germany

My father was born in Alexandria, Egypt, on April 26, 1894, the first son of Fritz Hess, a respected and well-to-do merchant. The Hess family personified the prosperity, standing and self-assurance of the German Reich of that period. They also personified all those things that aroused envy, fear and a combative spirit on the part of Britain and other great powers.

Fritz Hess owned an imposing house with a beautiful garden on the Mediterranean coast. His family, which came from Wunsiedel in the Fichtelgebirge region of Germany, owned another house in Reicholdsgrün, in Bavaria, where they regularly spent their summer holidays. The source of this wealth was a trading firm, Hess & Co., that Fritz Hess had inherited from his father, and which he managed with considerable success.

His eldest son, Rudolf, was a pupil at the German Protestant School in Alexandria. His future appeared to be determined by both family tradition and his father's strong hand: he would inherit the property and the firm, and would, accordingly, become a merchant. Young Rudolf, though, was not very inclined toward this kind of life.

Instead, he felt drawn toward the sciences, above all physics and mathematics. His abilities in these fields became obvious as a student at the Bad Godesberg Educational Institute, a boarding school for boys in Germany that he attended between September 15, 1908, and Easter, 1911. In spite of this, his father insisted that he complete his secondary school education by passing an examination that would permit him to enter the École Supérieur de Commerce at Neuchâtel in Switzerland, after which he became an apprentice in a Hamburg trading company.

Front Line Combat Service

These well-laid plans were soon to change. The start of the First World War in 1914 found the family at its vacation home in Bavaria. Rudolf Hess, then 20 years of age, did not hesitate for a moment before reporting as a volunteer with the Bavarian Field Artillery. A short time later, he was transferred to the infantry, and by November 4, 1914, he was serving as a poorly trained recruit at the front, where he took part in the trench warfare of the first battle of the Somme.

Along with most young Germans of that time, Rudolf Hess went to the front as a fer-

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Wolf R. Hess studied at the Technical University in Munich, from where he graduated as a government-certified engineer in 1964. He is chairman of the Rudolf Hess Society (Postfach 1122, 8033 Planegg, Germany). He and his wife live in Bavaria.

vent patriot acutely conscious of Germany's cause, which he regarded as entirely just, and determined to defeat the British-French arch-enemy. After six months of front-line service, my father was promoted to lance corporal. To his men he was an exemplary comrade, always the first to volunteer for raids and reconnaissance patrols. In bloody battles among the barbed wire, trenches and shell craters, he distinguished himself by his cheerful composure, courage and bravery.

By 1917 he had been promoted to the rank of Lieutenant. But he also paid the price of this "career" advancement: He was gravely wounded in 1916, and again in 1917 when a rifle bullet pierced his left lung.

A Humiliating and Vengeful Peace

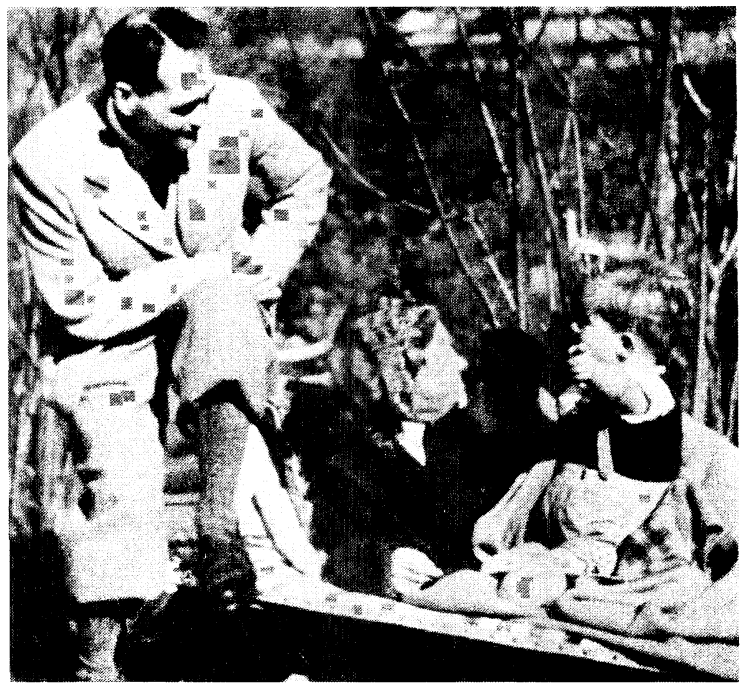
Scarred by the hardships and wounds of front line duty, on December 12, 1918—that is, after the humiliating armistice of Compiègne—Rudolf Hess was "discharged from active military service to Reicholdsgrün without maintenance," as the official army record rather baldly puts it. That is, without pay, pension or disability allowance.

Already during the war, the family had lost its considerable holdings in Egypt as a result of British expropriation. Now the defeat of the German Empire in the First World War brought wrenching, even catastrophic changes in the life of the Hess family.

For Rudolf Hess, though, the grim fate suffered by his fatherland in defeat and revolution weighed more heavily than this private misfortune. In spite of the military armistice, the victorious powers maintained a starvation blockade against Germany until the imposition of the Treaty of Versailles in June 1919. The Treaty itself was little more than a vengeful "peace of annihilation" dictated by the victorious powers and accepted by the German National Assembly only under protest and the threat of further force.

On May 12, 1919, in a moving address that has since become famous, Reich Chancellor Philipp Scheidemann, a Social Democrat, declared:

> . . . Allow me to speak entirely without tactical considerations. What our discussions are concerned with, this thick book in which a hundred paragraphs begin with "Germany renounces, renounces," this most atrocious and murderous hammer of evil by which a great people is extorted and black mailed into acknowledging its own unworthiness, accepting its merciless dismemberment, consenting to enslavement and serfdom, this book must not become the statute book of the future . . . I ask you: Who, as an honest man—I will not even say as a German, only as an honest man loyal to the terms of a treaty—can submit to such conditions? What hand that submits itself and us to such shackles would not wither? Moreover, we must exert ourselves, we must toil, work as slaves for international capitalism, work unpaid for the entire world!
>
> . . . If this treaty is actually signed, it will not be just Germany's corpse that remains on the battlefield of Versailles. Beside it will lie equally noble corpses: the right of self-determination of peoples, the independence of free nations, belief in all the fine ideals under whose banner the Allies claimed to fight, and, above all, belief in loyalty to the terms of a treaty.



Young Wolf Hess with his parents in happier days, before the May 1941 "peace flight" to Britain.

Scheidemann's words leave scarcely any doubt that as a result of the "vae victis" of the governments of the Allied and Associated powers, Germany's very existence as a prosperous and unified nation was brought into question. As far-sighted men of the time correctly observed, the Constitution of the "Weimar Republic" (1919-1933) was, in a real sense, not the one that the German parliament formally adopted on August 11, 1919. It was rather, imposed by the dictated Treaty of Versailles on June 28, 1919. As a result of the

Treaty, each of the numerous governments of the "Weimar Republic" was inevitably faced with the same insurmountable problem. Each administration was obliged to carry out the Treaty's countless oppressive and devastating conditions, and thus act as an "agent" of the victorious powers. Each new government thus unavoidably discredited itself in the eyes of the people it represented, and therefore committed a kind of political suicide.

Meeting With Hitler

One political leader, though, defiantly vowed from the outset never to permit himself or his party to be blackmailed. This man was Adolf Hitler, and his party was the National Socialist German Workers' Party. Like many of his fellow citizens, my father was appalled and deeply shocked by the conditions that had developed in Germany, and he resolved to fight against the "Diktat" of Versailles. The catastrophic state of affairs he found in Munich after his return from the front defied his ability to describe them. Like most of his comrades, Hess was drawn into the war in 1914 to fight for a free, strong and proud Germany. Now, in 1919, the 26-year-old had to witness the establishment in Bavaria of a "Soviet republic" headed by communists and Jews. In his eyes, military defeat had given way to national catastrophe.

In a letter written to a cousin some time later, he graphically described his feelings at the time:

> You know how I suffer under the situation to which our once proud nation has been brought. I have fought for the honor of our flag where a man of my age had of course to fight, where conditions were at their worst, in dirt and mud, in the hell of Verdun, Artois and elsewhere. I have witnessed the horror of death in all its forms, been hammered for days under heavy bombardment, slept in a dugout in which lay half of a Frenchman's dead body. I have hungered and suffered, as indeed have all frontline soldiers. And is all this to be in vain, the suffering of the good people at home all for nothing? I have learned from you what you women have had to live through! No, if all this has been in vain, I would still today regret that I did not put a bullet through my brain on the day the monstrous armistice conditions and their acceptance were published. I did not do it at the time solely in the hope that in one way or another I *might still* be able to do something to reverse fate.

From then on, he was consumed by the conviction that he could "reverse fate," and by the determination to act on this conviction. During the winter of 1918-19, in a humiliated Germany shaken by communist riots, tormented by *ad hoc* governments of "workers' and soldiers' soviets," he still recognized—in spite of his discouragement—the possibility of renewal for the people for whom he had been ready to lay down his life.

Now determined to fight against the obvious efforts to subjugate Germany, his feelings of despair turned into burning indignation and motivating rage.

As a result, he was almost inevitably drawn to the one political force that, as he had correctly sensed from the outset, was in a position to break the shackles imposed upon the German people at Versailles. Like millions of other Germans, he followed this movement's leader—but he did so earlier and with greater dedication than most of the others. Along with his fellow citizens, he was convinced of the justice of the cause for which he fought—restortoration of Germany's national rights and standing by breaking the chains of Versailles.

The National Socialist German Workers' Party was founded in Munich in January 1919. Hitler joined a few months later, and quickly became its most prominent speaker. It was sometime in May 1920, at an evening meeting of this small group in a room adjoining the Sternecker brewery in Munich, when Hess first heard Hitler speak. When he returned home that evening to the small guest house where he was living, he enthusiastically told the girl who lived in the adjacent room, Ilse Pröh—whom he was later to marry:

> The day after tomorrow you must come with me to a meeting of the National Socialist Workers' Party. Someone unknown will be speaking; I can't remember his name. But if anyone can free us from Versailles, he is the man. This unknown man will restore our honor.

My father became member number sixteen of the group on July 1, 1920. From that time on he was slowly but steadily drawn to its leader. There were several reasons for his enthusiasm for Hitler. First, there were rea-

sons of practical policy, which Hess formulated in these words in a letter written in 1921:

> The core of the matter is that Hitler is convinced that [national] resurrection is possible only if we can succeed in leading the great mass of people, in particular the workers, back to national awareness. But this is possible only in the context of reasonable, honest socialism.

Second, Hess had a personal reason, which was Hitler's eloquence. In a letter to a friend written in 1924, my father described the effect of this gift:

> You won't find more than once a man who at a mass meeting can enrapture the most left-wing lathe operator just as much as the right-wing senior executive. This man, within two hours, made the thousand communists who had come to break up [the meeting] stand and join in the national anthem at the end [as in Munich in 1921], and this man, within three hours, in a special address to a few hundred industrialists and the Minister President [or provincial governor], who had come more or less to oppose him, secured their full approval or speechless astonishment.

Rudolf Hess was convinced that Hitler could not fail to break the chains of Versailles and then carry out a political change of direction that promised a better future.

In the years before it gained large-scale support from voters, the National Socialist party was a small Bavarian phenomenon, and Hitler's place in national politics was insignificant. Not even Hitler's recognized ability as an speaker was at first able to change this. During the period from 1924 until 1929, when normal conditions seemed to return in Germany, despite Versailles, Hitler was not well known. The only exception was in 1923, when he gained brief notoriety for his role in the November 9th "March on the Feldherrnhalle" in Munich, and the ill-fated attempt to overthrow the government there. In the course of this unsuccessful putsch, my father arrested three ministers of the Bavarian state government. For his role in the coup attempt, Hitler was punished with imprisonment in the Landsberg fortress, where my father later joined him.

Victory in Political Struggle

It was during that time of incarceration that Hitler and my father established the special relationship of trust and mutual confidence that stamped the image of the party's leadership in later years. It was also in Landsberg that Hitler wrote his well-known, seminal work, *Mein Kampf*. My father edited the pages of the manuscript and checked them for errors. Hitler was released early on December 20, 1924. Four months later, in April 1925 my father became Adolf Hitler's private secretary, at a monthly salary of 500 marks.

In the first years of the 1930s, the impact of the Great Depression and the political disintegration of the Weimar Republic set the stage for Hitler's seizure of power in January 1933. As a result of its well-organized propaganda campaigns, which were in turn due to its quasi-military cohesion and discipline, the National Socialist party gained greater and greater electoral support from ever broader segments of the population. And as employment increased, more and more jobless workers also turned to the National Socialists, many of them defecting directly from Germany's large Communist Party.

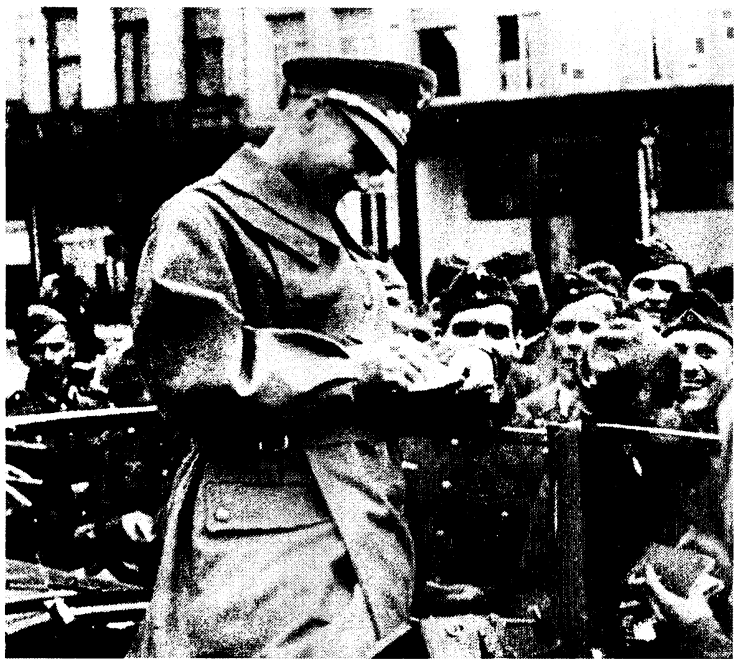
During the hectic days of January 1933, my father never left Hitler's side. In a handwritten letter to his wife, dated January 31, 1933—that is, the day after Hitler became Chancellor—the 38-year-old Rudolf Hess recorded his feelings during this moment of triumph:

> Am I dreaming or am I awake—that is the question of the moment! I am sitting in the Chancellor's office in the Wilhelmsplatz. Senior civil servants approach noiselessly on soft carpets to submit documents "for the Reich Chancellor," who is at the moment chairing a Cabinet meeting and preparing the government's initial measures. Outside, the public stands patiently, packed together and waiting for 'him' to drive away—they start to sing the national anthem and shout "Heil" to the "Führer" or to the "Reich Chancellor." And then I start to shake and I have to clench my teeth —just as I did yesterday when the "Führer" returned from [his meeting with] the Reich President as "Reich Chancellor," and summoned me to his bedroom in the Kaiserhof hotel from among the mass of leaders waiting in the reception room—when what I had considered impossible right up to the last moment became reality.

I was firmly convinced that everything would, of course, go wrong at the last moment. And the Chief also admitted to me that a few times things were on a knife-edge because of the intransigence of the old weasel in the Cabinet [a reference to Alfred Hugenberg, coalition partner and chairman of the German National People's Party].

The evening torchlight procession marched before the delighted old gentleman [President von Hindenburg], who bore it until the last SA man [stormtrooper] had passed at about midnight . . . Then came the jubilation directed to the Führer, mixing with that directed to the Reich President. The hours of men and women pushing past, holding up their children facing the Führer, young girls and boys, their faces radiant when they recognized "him" at the window of the Reich Chancellery—how sorry I was that you were not there!

The Chief behaves with incredible assurance. And the punctuality!!!! Always a few minutes ahead of time!!! I have even had to make up my mind to buy a watch. A new era and a new time schedule has dawned!



Deputy Führer Hess signs autographs for German soldiers in France.

All this was written on a sheet of paper with a letterhead reading "The Reich Chancellor." Hess had, however, crossed out the Gothic lettering with his pen. The next day, in a follow up letter dated February 1, he concluded with the words: "One stage towards victory is now, I hope, finally behind us. The second difficult period of the struggle has begun!"

On April 21, 1933, Hitler appointed Hess as Deputy Führer of the National Socialist party. His job was to lead the governing party as Hitler's representative, and to uphold its national and social principles. Eight months later, on December 1, 1933, Reich President Hindenburg—acting on Hitler's proposal—appointed Hess as Reich Minister without Portfolio. At the outbreak of war in September 1939, Hitler named Reich Marshal Hermann Göring as deputy head of state. But this does not alter the fact that Hess remained Hitler's close confidant, and a man he could trust without reservation.

Gathering Clouds of War

The most important result of the European political developments of 1937 and 1938, which reached a climax in the "Sudeten crisis" of 1938, was that Britain continued to strengthen its ties with the United States. As a condition of US assistance in the event of war, President Roosevelt demanded from British premier Chamberlain certain commitments in the field of political stability. It was under this pressure that Britain and France then concluded a military agreement in February 1939. In addition, the two western European democracies, bowing to Roosevelt's claim to lead world policy, gave guarantees to Holland, Switzerland, Poland, Romania, Greece and Turkey—in other words, to all of Germany's neighbors in the West and East—which Hitler considered Germany's rightful domain.

From this point on, Britain, France and Poland—with America behind them—decided which of Hitler's revisions of the conditions imposed by Versailles they would regard as reason for, or even merely a pretext for, war against the German Reich. Even if Hitler refrained from further revisionist policies, from now on the question of war or peace was no longer solely in his own hands.

At the time of Britain's "blank check" guarantee to Poland in March 1939, Hitler had not yet finally resolved to attack Poland. But every western political leader was aware that this fateful guarantee was an significant step closer to war. Indeed, important figures in western circles and among the anti-Hitler opposition in Germany calculated that Hitler would react to this new Polish dependence on Britain, France and the USA with military action. It was hoped that this would mean not

only war, but Hitler's own downfall. This was confirmed by Chamberlain in his diary entry of September 10, 1939: "My hope is not a military victory—I doubt very much whether that is possible—but a collapse on the German home front."

On September 1, 1939, the German armed forces commenced the attack against Poland. Two days later, Britain and France declared war against the German Reich. The fact that these governments did not also declare war against Soviet Russia, which invaded Poland on September 17, 1939 (in accord with the provisions of the German-Soviet pact of August 23, 1939), clearly shows that the British guarantee to Poland—like the British-French declaration of war against Germany—was motivated not by concern for Poland but rather was directed against Germany.

Four weeks later, Poland was shattered and the country was divided between Germany and Russia—without a single shot being fired in the West. Britain and France had done nothing for their Polish ally, and now Hitler began to plan an attack against France. At the same time, he hoped that Britain would make peace with him, while accepting the hegemony of a now-powerful Germany in eastern Europe. He believed that Britain would agree to this now that Poland was prostrate, or at the latest after a German victory over France.

After Germany's lightning victory over Poland, and before the German attack on France in May 1940, Hitler made the first of his numerous attempts to end the war in the West. His peace offer of September 12, 1939, accompanied by the assurance that under his leadership Germany would never capitulate, was a feeler. It was supported by Stalin, but rejected by Chamberlain and French premier Daladier.

Only after all hopes of peace with France and Britain were dashed did Hitler order an attack against France. It commenced on May 10, 1940, and France collapsed on June 21, 1940. The Franco-German armistice was signed on June 22 in the same railway dining car in Compiègne in which the Germans had signed the humiliating armistice of November 1918.

No one had foreseen such a swift German victory over France. As a result of this stunning achievement, Hitler had made himself ruler of the continent of Europe, from the Atlantic to the Bug river [in Poland], and from the North Cape to Sicily. But Britain still stood in the way of his goal of a free hand on the continent. Accordingly, during his visit in June 1940 to the sites of Germany's successful military campaigns, Hitler once again expressed his desire to reach a comprehensive peace agreement with Britain. It was at that time that his Deputy, Rudolf Hess, decided that—if it became necessary—he would make a personal effort to achieve a vital peace with Britain.

Flight for Peace

What really happened between June 1940 and May 10, 1941, the day my father took off in a Messerschmitt 110 to Scotland, is known only in outline because the relevant British documents still remain classified. The Hess papers that were released in Britain with great fanfare in June 1992 proved to be disappointing. Among these approximately two thousand pages was absolutely nothing of real substance about the secret contacts that existed between Britain and Germany, about the British peace group (which included members of the royal family) and its peace feelers to Germany, or about the role played by the British secret service prior to the flight. In short, these papers contained nothing that would show why my father seriously hoped that his mission might well turn out successfully.

In any case, it can be said with certainty that the still-classified British documents contain nothing that will reflect badly on Rudolf Hess or the policies of the German government of that time. Moreover, it can be stated with certainty that the documents that the British government continues to keep secret will reflect badly on the wartime British government of Winston Churchill. I will go further to say that these suppressed documents confirm that Churchill sought to prolong the war, with all the suffering, destruction and death that implies.

Some may dismiss this statement as unjustified and self-serving. In this regard, I would therefore like to cite the words of a British historian who has carried out extensive research on precisely this aspect of that dreadful conflict. In *Ten Days To Destiny: The Secret Story of the Hess Peace Initiative and British Efforts to Strike a Deal with Hitler* (New York: W. Morrow, 1991) [available from the IHR], John Costello concludes that it would have

been quite possible to bring the European war to an end before it turned into a world war, if only the British government had made even the slightest move to do so.

In *Ten Days To Destiny* [on pages 17 to 19], Costello writes the following revealing sentences:

> Until the British government reverses current policy and releases the relevant section of its historic intelligence service archives, it may be impossible to determine whether the clandestine contacts with Germany that evidently played a part in bringing Hess to Scotland on the night of May 10 were a secret service triumph or part of a sinister peace plot that ran out of control. What is now indisputable is that the Hess mission was very far from being the "brainstorm" of Hitler's deluded deputy that it is still being portrayed as by distinguished British historians. The documentary evidence that has now come to light [which, I might add parenthetically, is only the tip of the iceberg] shows that it was the outcome of an interlocking sequence of secret British and German peace manoeuvres that can be tracked right back to the summer of 1940. The pieces of this jigsaw puzzle are now falling into place to show that: [...]
>
> — Hitler's order halting the Panzer advance on Dunkirk was a carefully timed stratagem to persuade the British and French governments to seek a compromise peace.
>
> — A majority of the [Churchill] War Cabinet had decided to trade off Gibraltar and Malta in return for keeping control of the Empire.
>
> — An alarmed President Roosevelt secretly sought Canadian help to stop the British accepting a "soft peace" deal with Hitler.
>
> — French leaders believed on May 24, 1940, that Britain would not fight on but accept a joint peace deal brokered by Mussolini at the end of May 1940.
>
> — Churchill—and Britain—survived only because the Prime Minister resorted to ruthless Machiavellian intrigue and a high-stakes bluff to stop a wobbly Foreign Secretary talking the War Cabinet into a peace deal engineered by R.A. Butler. When France fell, Lord Halifax's Under Secretary actually passed a message to Berlin that "common sense and not bravado" dictated that Britain should negotiate, not fight Hitler. [...]
>
> — Two days after Churchill had promised "we shall never surrender," Lord Halifax and R.A. Butler signalled to Berlin via Sweden that a British peace proposal would be made after the French armistice on June 18, 1940.
>
> — Ambassador Kennedy had been in clandestine contact with Hitler's emissaries trying to stop the war while the British government suspected him of illegally profiting from Treasury information to make a killing in international stock and securities dealings. [...]
>
> — The Duke of Windsor and other members of the Royal Family encouraged German expectations that peace would eventually be negotiable.
>
> — Hess' plan to fly to Scotland took shape in the final days of the battle for France and was encouraged in September 1940 by his discovery that Britain continued putting out peace feelers via Switzerland and Spain.
>
> — MI5 [the British secret service] intercepted Hess' first peace initiative and then turned it into a "double-cross" operation to snare Hess into a trap baited by the Duke of Hamilton and the British Ambassadors in Switzerland and Madrid.
>
> — Hess' dramatic arrival left Churchill with no choice but to bury the affair in distortion and official silence in order to protect not only the Duke of Hamilton but senior Tory colleagues who even in 1941 remained convinced that an honorable peace could be struck with Hitler.

For more than fifty years the cloak of British secrecy has clouded and distorted the record. The official histories carefully masked the roles played by the key players in the year-long effort to strike a deal with Hitler behind Churchill's back. Just how close this peace plotting came to succeeding has been concealed to protect the reputations of the British politicians and diplomats who had believed that Hitler was less of a menace to the Empire than Stalin . . .

Churchill also had his own reasons for burying his wartime quarrels with other leading members of the Conservative Party. He did not want any scandal to sully the glory of his leadership during the Battle of Britain and the "white glow, overpowering and sublime, which ran through our Island from end to end."

Britain's "Finest Hour" and Churchill's own role in forging it were enshrined as one of the most illustrious chapters in British history. His visionary courage had created, by words rather than military

substance, the British people's belief that, against the overwhelming odds, they could defy Hitler in 1940.

No one knows for sure whether my father undertook his flight with the knowledge and blessing of Adolf Hitler. Both men are now dead. All the available evidence, though, suggests that Hitler knew in advance of the flight:

First: Just a few days before his flight, my father had a private meeting with Hitler that lasted four hours. It is known that the two men raised their voices during portions of their talk, and that when they were finished, Hitler accompanied his Deputy to the anteroom, put his arm soothingly around his shoulder, and said: "Hess, you really are stubborn."

Second: The relationship between Hitler and Hess was so close and intimate that one can logically assume that Hess would not have undertaken such an important step in the middle of a war without first informing Hitler.

Third: Although Hess' adjutants and secretaries were imprisoned after the flight, Hitler intervened to protect Hess' family. He saw to it that a pension was paid to Hess' wife, and he sent a personal telegram of condolence to Hess' mother when her husband died in October 1941.

Fourth: Among the papers released in June 1992 by the British authorities are two farewell letters my father wrote on June 14, 1941, the day before he tried to commit suicide in Mytchett Place, in England. The letters were written after he realized that his peace mission had definitely failed. One was addressed to Hitler and the other to his family. Both clearly confirm that his close relationship with Hitler still existed. If he had undertaken his now-obviously failed mission without Hitler's prior knowledge, his relationship with Hitler clearly would no longer still have been one of trust.

And, fifth: Gauleiter Ernst Bohle, the Hess confident and high-ranking official who had helped my father to translate some papers into English, remained convinced until his death that all this was done with Hitler's knowledge and approval.

Suppressing Historical Evidence

A general comment on the information available about my father's peace proposals is in order: During the entire forty-year period of his imprisonment in Spandau, he was prohibited from speaking openly about his mission. This "gag order" was obviously imposed because he knew things that, if publicly known, would be highly embarrassing to the British government, and possibly to the US and Soviet governments as well.

As a result, contemporary historical research remains entirely dependent on the British documents. British authorities have announced that many important documents from the Hess files will remain under lock and key until the year 2017. The entire matter was handled so secretly that no more than a handful of individuals around Churchill were really in the know. The proposals, plans or offers brought by Hess have remained secret in the archives right up to the present. As long as these documents remain secret, the world will not know the precise nature of the peace proposals that my father brought with him to present to the British government in May 1941. All this must, of course, be taken into consideration in any serious assessment of my father's historic flight.

One indication that Hess said more than is now known is contained in a note prepared on June 3, 1941, by Ralph Murray of the "Political Warfare Executive"—a top secret British government agency—for Sir Reginald Leeper, head of the secret service section of the Foreign Office. This document suggests that Secretary of State Cadogan also had a conversation with Rudolf Hess.

The purpose and context of this conversation still cannot be determined: The available information is still not complete. Nevertheless, it appears that during the course of this conversation the Deputy Führer was even more specific and detailed about his proposals than he was in some later conversations.

These were Hess' proposals:

> One: Germany and Britain would reach a compromise on world-wide policy based on the status quo. That is, Germany would not attack Russia to secure German *Lebensraum* ["living space"].
>
> Two: Germany would drop its claims to its former colonies, and would acknowledge British hegemony at sea. In return, Britain would acknowledge continental Europe as a German sphere of interest.
>
> Three: The then-current relationship of military strength between Germany and Britain in the air and on the sea would be

maintained. That is, Britain would not receive any reinforcements from the United States. Although there was no mention of land forces, it can be assumed that this balance of forces would be maintained in this regard as well.

Four: Germany would withdraw from "Metropolitan France" [European France] after the total disarmament of the French army and navy. German commissioners would remain in French North Africa, and German troops would remain in Libya for five years after the conclusion of peace.

Five: Within two years after the conclusion of peace, Germany would establish satellite states in Poland, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium and Serbia. However, Germany would withdraw from Norway, Romania, Bulgaria and Greece (except for Crete, which German parachutists had taken at the end of May, 1941). After some rounding-off in the East, North, West and South (Austria and Bohemia-Moravia were apparently to remain within the Reich), Germany would thus concede Britain's position in the eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East.

Six: Germany would recognize Ethiopia and the Red Sea as a British sphere of influence.

Seven: The person to whom the Deputy Führer was speaking was somewhat confused about whether Italy had approved Hess' peace proposals. Hess himself said nothing about this, although points four and six would have considerably affected Italian interests.

Eight: Rudolf Hess admitted that Hitler had agreed in advance to the official "cover story" put out in Germany that he was of "unsound mind."

This peace proposal would indeed have brought peace to the world in 1941. If Britain had negotiated with Germany on this basis, the German attack against Russia—which began less than three weeks later, on June 22, 1941—would not have taken place, because Hitler would have obtained what he needed for survival: control of the continent. The war would have withered away on all fronts.

Instead, as we know, the war continued —bringing destruction, suffering and death on an almost unimaginable scale—because the outstretched hand of peace was rejected by Churchill and Roosevelt. The peace they sought was a Carthaginian one. Their sole war aim was the destruction of Germany.

After initial interviews with Rudolf Hess conducted by the Duke of Hamilton and Sir Ivone Kirkpatrick in Glasgow, my father was interviewed on June 9, 1941, by Lord Simon, the Lord Chancellor, and on September 9, 1941, by Lord Beaverbrook, Minister for Aircraft Production. A few days later, Beaverbrook flew to Moscow to arrange for military aid to the Soviet Union. These two interviews were motivated not by any desire for peace, but were instead merely to pry out any possible military secrets from Hess.

Nuremberg

After September 1941 my father was completely isolated. On June 25, 1942, he was transferred to Abergavenny in south Wales, where he was kept prisoner until he was flown to Nuremberg on October 8, 1945, to stand trial as a "major war criminal" and as the second-ranking defendant in the so-called "International Military Tribunal."

I will not go into detail here about this shameful "victors' trial of the vanquished," except to note that even the Tribunal's Allied judges had to exonerate my father of the charges of "war crimes" and "crimes against humanity," but ruled that he—the one man who had risked his life to secure peace—was guilty of "crimes against peace," and, on that basis, sentenced him to life imprisonment! The court's treatment of Hess is alone more than enough to dismiss the Nuremberg Tribunal as a vengeful victors' kangaroo court that merely pretended to be a genuine forum of justice.

Spandau Prison

Along with six Nuremberg co-defendants, my father was transferred on July 18, 1947, to the grim fortress in the Spandau district of Berlin that was designated the Allied Military Prison.

The regulations under which the seven prisoners were held were so severe that even the French prison chaplain, Casalis, protested (in 1948) against their outrageous treatment. He went on to describe Spandau as a place of mental torture. In October 1952, after two years of protracted discussion between the custodial powers, the Soviets agreed to following so-called "special privileges": One visit of thirty minutes a month. One letter a week of no more than 1,300 words. Medical attention in the prison. And, in the event of death, interment of the ashes in the prison instead of scattering in the wind.

After the release of Albert Speer and Baldur von Schirach on October 1, 1966, Rudolf Hess was the only remaining inmate. For more than twenty years, my father was the sole prisoner in a prison designed for about six hundred.

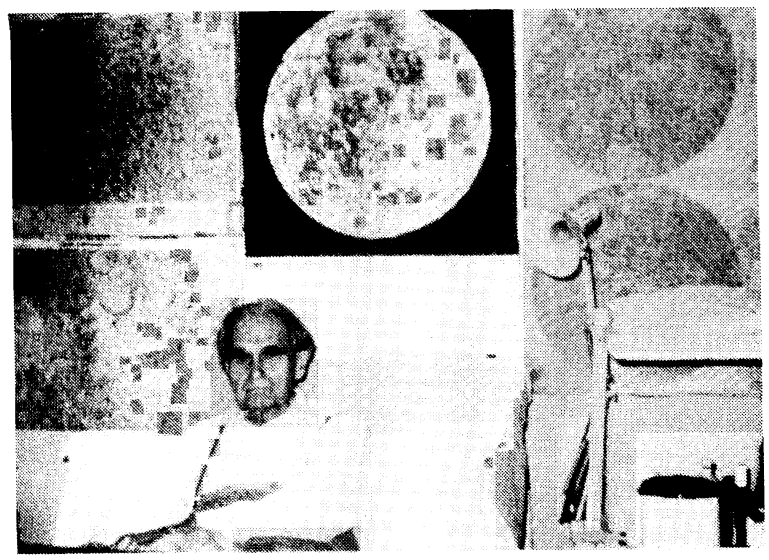
After a further revision of regulations in the early 1970s, one member of the family was permitted to visit the prisoner for one hour once a month. The prisoner was now also permitted to receive four books each month. As before, visits, letters and books were strictly censored. No reference to the events of the 1933 to 1945 period was permitted. No mention of the Tribunal's sentence, or matters related to it, was permitted. Family visits were monitored by authorities of each of the four powers, as well as by at least two guards. No physical contact—not even a handshake—was permitted. The visits took place in a special "Visitor's Room," which had a partition with an open "window.'

My father was allowed to receive four daily newspapers, and after the mid-1970s, he was allowed to watch television. However, newspapers and television were censored along the lines mentioned above. My father was not permitted to watch any television news reports.

For many years my father refused visits from members of his family on the grounds that because of the conditions under which such visits were permitted, they were an offense to his honor and dignity, and were more aggravating than pleasurable. He changed his mind in November 1969, when he became severely ill and had to struggle to stay alive. Under these circumstances, and because of new conditions for visits, he agreed to a visit by my mother, Ilse Hess, and myself in the British Military Hospital in Berlin. Thus, on December 24, 1969, my mother and I visited him for the first time since my childhood. This was the only occasion when two persons were permitted to visit him at the same time.

After being returned to the Allied Military Prison in Spandau, he agreed to further visits. In the years that followed, members of the family visited Rudolf Hess 232 times altogether. Only the closest members of his family were allowed to meet with him: that is, his wife, his sister, his niece, his nephew, my wife and myself. It was forbidden to shake hands or embrace. Presents were also forbidden, even on birthdays or at Christmas.

My father's attorney, retired Bavarian state minister Dr. Alfred Seidl, was permitted to meet with his client only six times in all during the forty year period from July 1947 to August 1987. Dr. Seidl was also subjected to the strict censorship regulations: That is, he was warned before each visit that he was not allowed to discuss with his client the trial, the reasons for his imprisonment or the efforts that were being made to secure his release. The custodial Allied Governments had always refused to bear the costs for the prison. After October 1, 1966, when my father became the prison's sole prisoner, the German federal government spent around 40 million marks to run the prison. This included salaries for a staff of more than a hundred persons employed to guard and run this prison for a single elderly man.



Rudolf Hess in his Spandau prison cell. On the wall hang maps of the moon, reflecting his keen interest in astronomy.

Soviet Inklings

In 1986, Soviet policy toward the West showed obvious signs of rapprochement and détente. In spite of so many earlier failures, I decided to act on a hint received in December 1986 from the East to directly approach the Soviets to discuss with them my father's release.

In January 1987, I wrote a letter to the Soviet embassy in Bonn. For the first time in 20 years, I received a reply. Officials there suggested that I visit the Soviet embassy in East Berlin for a detailed discussion with Soviet representatives about my father's situation. We finally agreed to a meeting at the Soviet consulate in West Berlin on March 31, 1987, at 2:00 p.m. As the embassy officials

were certainly aware, this would be on the same day as my next visit with my father.

That morning, I visited my father in Spandau prison for the very last time. I found him to be mentally alert, quite up to par, but physically very weak. He could walk only when supporting himself with a cane on one side, and with help from a guard on the other. Sitting down with his feet propped on a chair had become a tedious procedure which he could not manage without help. Even though I found the temperature in the visitor's room to be quite normal, he felt cold and asked for his coat and an additional blanket.

My father opened our conversation with an interesting piece of news, the details of which he asked me to set down in writing: He had sent a new application to the heads of state of the four occupation powers, requesting release from his 46 years imprisonment. I was particularly struck by one point. He told me that he had appealed especially to the Soviet head of state to support his request with the other three custodial powers. "Did I get that right?," I asked. My father nodded. So he knew—obviously from the Russians themselves—that they were considering approving his release.

After our meeting, I drove from Spandau prison directly to the Soviet consulate. Embassy Counselor Grinin, the official I spoke with there, began by explaining that it was not the Soviet embassy in Bonn, but rather the embassy in East Berlin that was responsible for all Soviet rights and responsibilities in West Berlin. One of these responsibilities, he said—and his words deserve to be repeated verbatim —was "the unpleasant legacy of Spandau." Anyone who had inherited a legacy like the "Allied Military Prison" on German soil, as the Soviet Union had at the end of the war, Grinin said, should certainly want to get rid of it.

I had not expected any sensational outcome from this meeting. It had been a mutual sounding-out, and I believe that it came off positively for each side. It also became clear to me during the course of this meeting that there were conflicting views in Moscow about how to deal with the "Hess case." Those who were sympathetic to us, led by Secretary General Gorbachev, were clearly gaining the upper hand.

This evaluation was confirmed a short time later in a report published in the German news magazine *Der Spiegel* (April 13, 1987). The article, which appeared under the headline "Will Gorbachev release Hess?," reported on a fundamental change in the attitude of the Soviet party leader toward the "Hess case." Gorbachev, it went on, took the view that the release of Spandau's last prisoner would be an action "that would be accepted worldwide as a gesture of humanity," and which "could also be justified to the Soviet people." In this regard, the news weekly also mentioned the forthcoming visit to Moscow by federal German President Weizsäcker, which was planned to take place in mid-May.

Also on April 13, 1987, a private German citizen wrote a letter about the Hess case to the German-language service of Radio Moscow. The letter of reply, dated June 21, 1987, declared: "As can be hoped from the most recent statements of our head of government, M. Gorbachev, your long years of efforts for the release of the war criminal R. Hess will soon be crowned with success." It can be assumed with certainty that such a letter from Radio Moscow was not written without approval from above.

These three events—my reception in the Soviet consulate in West Berlin on March 31, 1987, the *Spiegel* magazine report of April 13, 1987, and the reply from Radio Moscow of June 21, 1987—show unequivocally that the Soviet Union, under the leadership of Secretary General Gorbachev, intended to release Rudolf Hess. This release would not only be entirely consistent with Gorbachev's policy of reconciliation, it would also be essential feature of a settlement of the remaining unresolved consequences of the Second World War, without which the reunification of Germany and Berlin would not be possible.

Death by Suicide?

If the western custodial powers had not already been aware of Gorbachev's intention, they certainly were after the publication of the *Spiegel* article in April. This undoubtedly set off alarm bells in Britain and the United States, since this new Soviet move would remove the last remaining legal obstacle to my father's release. For many years the British, American and French governments had said that they were ready to agree to Hess' release, but that it was only the Soviet veto that prevented it. Gorbachev's new initiative threatened to call the British and American bluff.

The authorities in London and Washington would have to find some new and more perma-

nent way to deny Hess his freedom and keep him from speaking freely.

On Monday, August 17, 1987, a journalist informed me in my office that my father was dying. Later, at home, I received a telephone call at 6:35 p.m. from Mr. Darold W. Keane, the American director of the Spandau Prison, who informed me officially that my father had died. The official notification, which was in English, read as follows: "I am authorized to inform you that your father expired today at 4:10 p.m. I am not authorized to give you any further details."

The next morning I was on a plane to Berlin, accompanied by Dr. Seidl. When I arrived at the prison, a fairly large crowd had gathered in front. Berlin police were blocking the entrance, and we were obliged to show identification papers before we were allowed to approach the green-painted iron gate. After ringing the bell, I asked to speak with the American prison director, Mr. Keane. After quite a while, Mr. Keane finally appeared, looking extraordinarily nervous and unsure of himself. He told us that we would not be allowed inside the prison complex, and that I would not be permitted to see my dead father. He also told us that he was not able to provide any further information about details of the death. A new report with details of my father's death was allegedly being prepared, and would be made available at about 4:00 p.m. Then, after we gave him the address and telephone number of a Berlin hotel where we would be waiting for further news, he left us standing in front of the gate.

The long-expected telephone call to the hotel finally came at about 5:30 p.m. Keane said:

> I will now read to you the report that we will release immediately afterwards to the press. It reads:
>
> "Initial examination indicated that Rudolf Hess attempted to take his own life. In the afternoon of August 17, 1987, under the customary supervision of a prison guard, Hess went to a summerhouse in the prison garden, where he always used to sit. When the guard looked into the summerhouse a few minutes later, he discovered Hess with an electric cord around his neck. Attempts were made at resuscitation and Hess was taken to the British Military Hospital. After further attempts to revive Hess, he was declared dead at 4:10 p.m. The question of whether this suicide attempt was the cause of his death is the object of an investigation, including a thorough autopsy, which is still in progress."

Hess was a frail 93-year-old man with no strength left in his hands, who could just barely drag himself from his cell into the garden. How was he supposed to have killed himself in this way? Did he hang himself with the cord from a hook or a window latch? Or did he throttle himself? Those responsible would not immediately provide a detailed explanation about this point. We had to wait a full month for the final official statement about the circumstances of the death. It was published by the Allies on September 17, 1987, and reads as follows:

> 1. The Four Powers are now in a position to make the final statement on the death of Rudolf Hess.
>
> 2. Investigations have confirmed that on August 17 Rudolf Hess hanged himself from a window latch in a small summerhouse in the prison garden, using an electric extension cord which had for some time been kept in the summerhouse for use in connection with a reading lamp. Attempts were made to revive him and he was then rushed to the British Military Hospital where, after further unsuccessful attempts to revive him, he was pronounced dead at 4:10 p.m.
>
> 3. A note addressed to Hess' family was found in his pocket. This note was written on the reverse side of a letter from his daughter-in-law dated July 20, 1987. It began with the words "Please would the governors send this home. Written a few minutes before my death." The senior document examiner from the laboratory of the British government chemist, Mr. Beard, has examined this note, and concluded that he can see no reason to doubt that it was written by Rudolf Hess.
>
> 4. A full autopsy was performed on Hess' body on August 19 in the British Military Hospital by Dr. Malcolm Cameron. The autopsy was conducted in the presence of medical representatives of the four powers. The report noted a linear mark on the left side of the neck consistent with a ligature. Dr. Cameron stated that in his opinion death resulted from asphyxia, caused by compression of the neck due to suspension.

> 5. The investigations confirmed that the routine followed by staff on the day of Hess' suicide was consistent with normal practice. Hess had tried to cut his wrists with a table knife in 1977. Immediately after this incident, warders were placed in his room and he was watched 24 hours a day. This was discontinued after several months as impracticable, unnecessary and an inappropriate invasion of Hess' privacy.

The report of the autopsy carried out by the British pathologist Dr. Cameron on August 19 was later made available to the family. Concluding that my father's death was not due to natural causes, it was consistent with point five of the Allied final official statement.

Autopsy and Burial

On the basis of an 1982 agreement between the family and the Allies, the body of Rudolf Hess would not be burned, but instead would be turned over to the family for burial "in Bavaria quietly in the presence of his immediate family."

The Allies kept this agreement—something they have most probably since regretted emphatically. Accordingly, my father's body was turned over to the family on the morning of August 20, 1987, at the American military training grounds of Grafenwöhr, where it had arrived earlier that same morning from Berlin in a British military airplane.

The coffin was accompanied by the three Western governors and two Russians, whom I didn't know, as well as a certain Major Gallagher, chief of the so-called "Special Investigation Branch, Royal Military Police." The turnover was brief and to the point. We then immediately brought the body to the Institute for Forensic Medicine in Munich, where Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Spann was waiting at our family's request to conduct a second autopsy. Throughout the entire journey from the military training grounds in Grafenwöhr to the Institute for Forensic Medicine in Munich, the transport was guarded by a contingent of Bavarian police.

In the conclusion of his report of December 21, 1988, on the second autopsy, the renowned Munich pathologist Professor Spann pointed out the difficulties he encountered because he did not have any information about details of the alleged hanging. In particular, he had no information about details of the condition of my father after the supposed discovery of his body. In spite of these limitations, Dr. Spann nevertheless was able to arrive at the following remarkable conclusions:

> Dr. Cameron's further conclusion that this compression was caused by suspension is not necessarily compatible with our findings . . .
>
> In forensic medicine, the course which the ligature mark takes on the neck is considered a classic indicator for differentiating between forms of hanging and throttling . . . If Prof. Cameron, in his assessment of the cause of death, comes to the conclusion that the cause of death was asphyxiation caused by compression of the neck due to hanging, he neglects to consider the other method of strangulation, that is, throttling . . . Making this distinction would have required an examination of the course of the ligature mark. The precise course of the mark is not given in Prof. Cameron's autopsy report . . .
>
> Here, neither the course of the strangulation mark on the neck, as we have described it, nor its course on the throat, nor its position relative to the prominence of the larynx has been described and assessed . . . Since on the uninjured skin of the neck, where the possibility of distortion through the suture of the dissection incision is ruled out, an almost horizontal course of the strangulation mark could be identified, this finding, as well as the fact that the mark on the throat obviously was not located above the larynx, is more indicative of a case of throttling than of hanging. Under no circumstances can the findings be readily explained by a so-called typical hanging. The burst blood vessels which were observed in the face, caused by blood congestion, are also not compatible with typical hanging.

A Tunisian medical orderly, Abdallah Melaouhi, was a civilian employee of the Spandau prison administration at the time of my father's death. He is not a citizen of one of the four Allied occupation powers, nor, even more to the point, a member of their armed forces. As a result, he could not be silenced or transferred to some remote corner of the world like the others who were present at the scene of the crime.

After the death of my father, Melaouhi got in touch with our family. From a note that my father wrote to him, it is clear that there was a relationship of personal trust between the

two men. The core of Melaouhi's account, which he set down in an affidavit, is as follows:

> When I arrived at the garden summerhouse, I found the scene looking as though a wrestling match had taken place. The ground was churned up and the chair on which Hess had usually sat lay on the ground a considerable distance from its usual location. Hess himself lay lifeless on the ground: He reacted to nothing, his respiration, pulse and heartbeat were no longer measurable. Jordan [an American guard] stood near Hess' feet and was obviously quite beside himself.

Melaouhi noticed to his surprise that besides Anthony Jordan, the Black American guard, two strangers in US military uniform were present. This was unusual, since no soldier was normally permitted access to this part of the prison, and above all, because any contact with Rudolf Hess was most strictly forbidden. In Melaouhi's opinion, the two strangers seemed reserved and calm, in sharp contrast to Jordan.

Affidavit from South Africa

In addition to the Tunisian orderly's account, there is a further affidavit regarding the events in Spandau on August 17, 1987. My wife brought it back from South Africa, where she had met with a South African lawyer with contacts to Western secret services. I was able to persuade this man to phrase his testimony in the form of an affidavit prepared for a judge. Dated February 22, 1988, this affidavit reads as follows:

> I have been questioned about the details of the death of the former German Reich Minister Rudolf Hess.
>
> Reich Minister Rudolf Hess was killed on the orders of the British Home Office. The murder was committed by two members of the British SAS (22nd SAS Regiment, SAS Depot Bradbury Lines, Hereford, England). The military unit of the SAS [Special Air Service] is subordinated to the British Home Office—not to the Ministry of Defense. The planning of the murder as well as its direction was carried out by MI-5. The secret service action whose aim was the murder of Reich Minister Rudolf Hess was so hastily planned that it was not even given a code name, which is absolutely not customary.
>
> Other secret services which had been privy to the plan were the American, the French and the Israeli. Neither the [Soviet] KGB nor the GRU, nor the German secret services had been informed.
>
> The murder of Reich Minister Rudolf Hess had become necessary because the government of the USSR intended to release the prisoner in July 1987 [in connection with German President von Weizsäcker's forthcoming visit to Moscow], but President von Weizsäcker was able to negotiate an extension with the head of the Soviet government, Gorbachev, until November 1987, the next Soviet period in the guard cycle.
>
> The two SAS men had been in Spandau prison since the night of Saturday-Sunday (August 15-16, 1987). The American CIA gave its consent to the murder on Monday (August 17, 1987).
>
> During Reich Minister Rudolf Hess' afternoon walk, the two SAS men lay in waiting for the prisoner in the prison garden summerhouse and tried to strangle him with a 4 1/2-foot long cable. Afterwards, a "suicide by hanging" was to be faked. But as Reich Minister Rudolf Hess put up a fight and cried for help, which alerted at least one American guard soldier to the attack, the attempt on the prisoner's life was broken off, and an ambulance of the British Military Hospital was summoned. The unconscious Reich Minister Rudolf Hess was taken to the British Hospital in the ambulance.
>
> I was given the above information personally and verbally by an officer of the Israeli service on Tuesday, August 18, 1987, at around 8.00 a.m., South African time. I have known this member of the Israeli service both officially and personallyfor four years. I am completely satisfied that he was sincere and honest and I have no doubt whatsoever as to the truth of his information. The absolutely confidential nature of his conversation with me is also beyond doubt.

Next to Cameron's misleading autopsy report, the British themselves provided the most decisive clue in solving the mysterious death in the garden summerhouse of Spandau prison.

Suicide Note?

As already mentioned, I was told on August 17, 1987, only that my father had died. It wasn't until the next day that I learned that

he had supposedly committed suicide. In response to doubts I quickly expressed publicly about this supposed suicide, the Allies were prompted to discover, on August 19, 1987, a supposedly incontrovertible "proof" of suicide. This is the so-called "suicide note." It is an undated hand-written letter on the back of the family's next-to-the-last letter to Rudolf Hess, dated July 20, 1987. The text of this supposed "suicide note" is as follows:

> Please would the Governors send this home. Written a few minutes before my death.
>
> I thank you all, my beloved, for all the dear things you have done for me. Tell Freiburg I am extremely sorry that since the Nuremberg trial I had to act as though I didn't know her. I had no choice, because otherwise all attempts to gain freedom would have been in vain. I had so looked forward to seeing her again. I did get pictures of her, as of you all. Your Eldest.

Wolf R. Hess alone with his father for the first time since 1941.

This letter was handed to the family more than a month after the death. We were told that it first had to be examined in a British laboratory.

While it did seem to be my father's handwriting (although considerably distorted, as it was whenever he was suffering as a result of emotional upheaval, health problems or even medication), this "note" did not reflect the thinking of Rudolf Hess in 1987. Rather, it reflected thoughts of his some twenty years earlier. The content mainly concerns "Freiburg," his one-time private secretary, about whom he had been concerned in 1969 when he had a perforated ulcer in the duodenum and was near death. Moreover, it was signed with an expression, "Your Eldest," that he not used for about 20 years.

There is another clue in the letter's text that indicates its date. The phrase, "I did get pictures of her, as of you all," would have made sense only during the period before Christmas 1969, because until that Christmas he received nothing but photographs of "Freiburg" and us. As of Christmas 1969, he was visited by members of his family, and received more pictures from "Freiburg," who was not allowed to visit him. Considering the precise way my father expressed himself, this sentence can only have been written before December 24, 1969. Written in August 1987, this sentence makes no sense at all.

Finally, the brief letter's opening words, "Written a few minutes before my death," cannot be reconciled with his precise manner of expressing himself. If he had really written this letter before a planned suicide, he would most certainly have chosen a phrase specifying suicide, such as "shortly before my voluntary withdrawal from life" or something similar, but not the ambiguous word "death," which leaves open any possible method of death.

We, the members of his family who knew not only my father's handwriting but the writer himself, and who were intimately familiar with his concerns during his final years, know that this supposed "suicide note" is a hoax as crude as it is malicious.

It can now be concluded that a "farewell letter" written by my father almost twenty years earlier in expectation of his death, and which was not handed over to the family at that time, was used to produce this 1987 forgery. For this purpose, the text was transformed by some modern means onto the back of a letter my father had received recently from us. The censorship stamp "Allied Prison Spandau," which normally appeared, without exception, on every piece of incoming paper he received for more than 40 years, was conspicuously absent from our letter to him of July 20, 1987. Finally, the supposed suicide note bore

no date, which was contrary to my father's routine practice of always prefacing whatever he wrote with the date. The original date had obviously been omitted.

Murder, Not Suicide

On the basis of Prof. Spann's autopsy report, the affidavits of the Tunisian medical orderly and the South African attorney, as well as the supposed "suicide letter," I can only conclude that the death of Rudolf Hess on the afternoon of August 17, 1987, was not suicide. It was murder.

Although US authorities were officially in charge of the Allied Military Prison in Berlin-Spandau in August 1987, it is noteworthy that British citizens played such a major role in the final act of the Hess drama. The American director, Mr. Keane, was permitted by the British merely to call me and inform me of my father's death. After that his only duty was to keep his mouth shut.

To sum up here:

— The two men the Tunisian orderly Melaouhi saw in American uniform, who were most probably Rudolf Hess' murderers, were from a British SAS regiment.

— The death was established in the British Military Hospital, to where my father was brought in a British ambulance.

— The death certificate is signed only by British military personnel.

— The autopsy was carried out by a British Pathologist.

— The British prison director, Mr. Antony Le Tissier, supervised the prompt destruction of all tell-tale evidence, such as the electric cable, the garden house, and so forth.

— The officials of the Special Investigation Branch (SIB) that investigated the death were all British citizens, and were headed by a British major.

— The alleged "suicide note" was supposedly found two days later in the pocket of Hess' jacket by a British officer, and was examined by a British laboratory.

— Mr. Allan Green, the British Director of Public Prosecution, halted an investigation into my father's death begun by Scotland Yard, which had recommended a "full scale murder investigation" after officials there had found many inconsistencies.

Rudolf Hess did not commit suicide on August 17, 1987, as the British government claims. The weight of evidence shows instead that British officials, acting on high-level orders, murdered my father.

A Crime Against Truth

The same government, which tried to make him a scapegoat for its crimes, and which for almost half a century resolutely sought to suppress the truth of the Hess affair, finally did not shrink from murder to silence him. My father's murder was not only a crime against a frail and elderly man, but a crime against historical truth. It was a logical final act of an official British conspiracy that began in 1941, at the outset of the Hess affair.

But I can assure them, and you, that this conspiracy will not succeed. The murder of my father will not, as they hope, forever close the book on the Hess file.

I am convinced that history and justice will absolve my father. His courage in risking his life for peace, the long injustice he endured, and his martyrdom, will not be forgotten. He will be vindicated, and his final words at the Nuremberg trial, "I regret nothing!," will stand forever.

Rudolf Hess
Prisoner of Peace

THE FLIGHT TO BRITAIN and ITS AFTERMATH

The late martyr's moving prison letters to his beloved wife, spanning the years of his imprisonment in England, Nuremberg and Spandau 1941-1951. These letters, along with other letters and commentary on Hess's peace mission to England, present an eloquent case for the solitary prisoner of Spandau Fortress—the 20th century's *Man in the Iron Mask*—whose only crime was his desire for peace between England and Germany.

Edited by George Pile, softcover, 151 pages, photos, $7.95 + $2 shipping.

published by

Institute for Historical Review

P.O. Box 2739 • Newport Beach, CA 92659

Thomas Jefferson's Place in History

MARTIN A. LARSON

In a recent *Washington Post* article, "Thomas Jefferson, Tarnished Icon?" (Oct. 17, 1992), staff writer Joel Achenbach subtly and snidely sought to dethrone Thomas Jefferson from the pinnacle on which he is so rightly enshrined.

"Among professional historians, Jefferson's stock has sunk in the last generation, and it has a lot to do with race and slavery," said historian Peter Onuf at a recent conference at the University of Virginia. In the harsh view of Paul Finkelman, another historian who is quoted here with apparent approval, Jefferson was a "pathetic" racist, and "a profligate, undisciplined spender" who "could not live without slaves. Too self-indulgent to manage carefully his own lands and his life, he relied upon slaves, as a source of ready capital, selling scores of them to support his habits and pleasures." In Finkelman's opinion, Jefferson was "the arch traitor" against "the hopes of the world."

Jefferson authored the Declaration of Independence, and then served as US minister to France, governor of Virginia, secretary of state, vice president, and president of the United States. During his decades of public service, he received no compensation above actual expenses. His duties required him to be away from his home so much that he fell into debt, and was able to save his home only with the generous help of friends. When he retired from the presidency in 1809, the legislature of Virginia, his native state, paid tribute to him in a resolution that declared:

> We have to thank you for the model of an administration conducted on the purest principles of republicanism; for . . . patronage discarded; internal taxes abolished; a host of superfluous officers disbanded; . . . more than thirty-three millions of debt discharged; . . . and, without the guilt or calamities of conquest, [for] a vast and fertile region added to our country . . . These are points in your administration which the historian will not fail to seize, to expand, and teach posterity to dwell upon with delight.

It would take a small book merely to list and describe the blessings he conferred upon America and its people. For example, as president he abolished the internal revenue tax system established by Alexander Hamilton, reduced taxes by fifty percent, and paid off nearly half of the national debt in eight years. Contrast this with what has been and still is being done in Washington!

Jefferson's interests were always for the welfare of the country and its citizens. Even today, though, there are dishonest individuals and various special interests who hate anyone who shares his ideals. Jefferson once said that he was assailed by so many enemies that if he were to answer them all, he would not have time for anything else. Instead, he declared, he would let judgment of him and his record be made by the people—who responded by electing him to a second term in a landslide. Later generations have similarly shown their appreciation by erecting in his honor one of the most magnificent memorials to be found in our capital.

Concerning the thorny issue of slavery, Jefferson wrote: "Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that these [black] people are to be free; nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live under the same government." He did not mean that the two races could not somehow co-exist, but rather that they could not live together in peace and harmony.

History has born out the truth of his observation. Since the abolition of slavery, the two races have co-existed in an uneasy state of mutual suspicion and animosity, in spite of the enormous efforts and vast sums spent by white America on behalf of blacks. Black urban areas have degenerated into crime-ridden slums, periodically torn apart by riots. Jefferson proposed that all young blacks, with their children, should be transported from the United States and set up in comfort in a faraway land, probably in Africa. If his proposal had been implemented, this country would have been spared the terrible Civil War, and perhaps other calamities.

Jefferson regarded slavery as an unparalleled iniquity. For this he strongly criticized Britain's rulers, who fostered the slave trade in large part to discourage emigration to America of their own starving unemployed.

Washington Post writer Achenbach could not deny himself the pleasure of bringing up the tired old accusation that Jefferson took a black slave, Sally Hemings, as a mistress. In fact, there is not the slightest shred of evidence of such a liaison, or that Jefferson was the father of any of her children.

Commenting on lies and calumnies about him that were being published in newspapers at the time, he wrote in 1807: "As for myself, conscious that there was not a truth on earth which I feared, should it be known, I have lent myself willingly as a subject of a great experiment, which was to prove" that the calumnies of a licentious press could not batter down one who had led a blameless life and had nothing to hide.

Martin A. Larson received his Ph.D. in English literature from the University of Michigan. He is the author of more than 20 books, including the 414-page work, *Jefferson: Magnificent Populist* (available from the IHR). Since 1980 Larson has been a member of the *Journal*'s Editorial Advisory Committee, and has spoken at several IHR conferences. He makes his home in Arizona with his wife.

The Sally Hemings Myth

Probably the most notorious accusation against Thomas Jefferson is the persistent allegation that he secretly took a mulatto slave named Sally Hemings (or Hemmings) as a mistress, and fathered several children by her.

The charge was first made in September 1802 (during Jefferson's first term as president) by a Scottish immigrant named James T. Callender, an embittered alcoholic and hypochondriac. Writing in a Richmond newspaper, Callender cited no evidence for his accusation, merely claiming that it was "well known." On later occasions he changed details about how the affair allegedly began and the number of children supposedly produced by it.

To those who knew Jefferson, his high moral standards and his deep devotion to his dead wife's memory, the entire story was absurd and contemptible. Nevertheless, it soon gained widespread circulation and many believers. Today it is occasionally given credence by black or leftist academics.

Jefferson never replied publicly to the charge. In a letter to a friend in June 1816, he wrote, "I should have fancied myself half guilty had I condescended to put pen to paper in refutation of their falsehoods, or drawn to them respect by any notice from myself." Years later his grandson, Thomas Jefferson Randolph, maintained that Sally's children were fathered by a nephew of Thomas Jefferson named Peter Carr, thus suggesting an additional reason for his silence.

Serious scholars of Jefferson's life reject the Hemings story. University of Virginia professor Merrill D. Peterson, a prominent Jefferson specialist, commented in his comprehensive biography of the third president: ". . . It is difficult to imagine him caught up in a miscegenous relationship. Such a mixture of the races, such a ruthless exploitation of the master-slave relationship, revolted his whole being." (*Thomas Jefferson and the New Nation*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1970, p. 707.)

—M. W.

Since a politician never believes what he says, he is surprised when others believe him.
—Charles De Gaulle

Canadian Reflections on the Zündel and Irving Cases

DOUG COLLINS

On August 27, Canada's Supreme Court struck down as unconstitutional the law under which German-Canadian publisher Ernst Zündel was convicted for publishing a Revisionist booklet about the Holocaust. In a four-three decision, the judges ruled that the "false news" law under which he was convicted violates the freedom-of-speech provisions of Canada's Charter of Rights, and is thus unconstitutional. (For more on this, see the October 1992 IHR Newsletter.)

The following columns appeared in the September 2 and November 11 issues of the North Shore News of North Vancouver, British Columbia, and are reprinted here with permission.

—The Editor

The Zündel Affair: A National Legal Disgrace

"What sort of truth is it that needs protection? "

—Auberon Waugh

Pardon me if I glow a little, but it's nice to have been right in the Ernst Zündel affair. I refer to the Supreme Court of Canada decision that ditched a stupid and dangerous law.

The court cast a blow for freedom and delivered a bang in the snout to the Jewish groups that set this "false news" nonsense going; also to the politicians who bowed to their demands in laying charges.

Few come out of this miserable affair with credit. Not a single MP questioned the matter in Parliament, and I saw only two token editorials that took issue with the wisdom of prosecuting the man. One was in the *Toronto Star*, the other in the [Toronto] *Globe and Mail*. And as I told you in 1988, Jewish pressure achieved a virtual news blackout on what was being said in court in the second trial.

The whole affair bordered on farce, Zündel's "crime" having been that he distributed a pamphlet called *Did Six Million Really Die?* He didn't even write the thing. But in jumped complainant Sabina Citron of the Holocaust Remembrance Society, and we were off on the false news farrago.

That was in 1984, an appropriate year, and Zündel was to go through seven courts. His lawyer, Doug Christie, estimated that the cost to the public purse has been at least $5 million. In 1985, I gave evidence for the defense because to me it seemed absurd that anyone could be hauled into court for such ridiculous reasons.

The "spreading false news" law should never have been dragged out of the historical gunnysack. It was pure politics. False news? Santa Claus speaks false news, I told the court. So does the weatherman. Today and every day, politicians spread false news. So do the media and academe. Heck, I have even spread some false news myself. Nobody's perfect.

Still, I am proud to have spoken for common sense in one of the most disgraceful prosecutions in Canadian legal history. But where were all those yackety-yack members of the freedom-loving media gang when they were needed? I shouldn't ask. These days it is much easier to bash the Pope than to oppose the most powerful pressure group in the country.

The man who comes out of this with the greatest credit is Mr. Christie, who never gave up even in the face of vilification. It takes guts to keep going for years in an unpopular issue of this sort. Most lawyers would have withdrawn. He mounted effective challenges and even dared to tell the Ontario Court of Appeal that the judge in the first trial was biased. As I wrote at the time, Judge Hugh Locke's attitude to Christie remind me of Capt. Bligh bawling at Fletcher Christian in the "Mutiny on the Bounty" movie.

But the lawyer had the last laugh when the appeal court accepted his submission that the judge had been wrong on 16 points of law. Hence the second trial.

Political correctness having saturated so much or our society, I doubted that the Supreme Court would rule in Zündel's favor, and in fact the decision turned on one vote.

However, a speech given by Mr. Justice John Sopinka last April provided a straw in the wind. "Certain segments of society who are justifiably seeking equality for their particular interests have extended their demands so far that they threaten the freedom of others," he said. "They not only criticize the expression of views that do not accord with their own, but demand that contrary views be suppressed."

If freedom of speech has received a bit of a fillip we owe it not to Canadian liberals but to a German who salutes the late Adolf Hitler. A pox on Hitler. But supporting tyrants, fools and saints—and spreading false news—is what freedom is speech is all about.

Let us remember, too, that there are plenty of people who made a profession of spreading false news on Joe Stalin's behalf. Did anyone chase them into court for denying there was a holocaust in the Ukraine?

Jewish organizations are now demanding the Zündel be charged under the hate laws. But the reason he was charged for "false news" was that he couldn't be got under the hate laws. And what about the Anglo-Saxon rule of double jeopardy under which a person must not be tried twice for the same crime?

Eight years of prosecution-persecution aren't enough for some people. Hatred is not confined.

Something to Remember

This being Remembrance Day [in Canada], let's remember that whereas Nazi Germany was a fully fledged police state, Canada is in danger of becoming a partly fledged police state. What else can be said when a "controversial author" to whom Jewish groups object is barred from the country?

What else can be said when eight armed policemen descend on a private meeting, slap handcuffs on the speaker and haul him off to jail, informing the audience that the place is surrounded and that they should stay where they are? Were the cops after Jesse James? Had Clifford Olson escaped from prison?

No, the target was a writer who says that something didn't happen. Or that if it did happen, it has been grossly exaggerated. Like the Holocaust.

And what else can be said when most of the media not only accept all this but join in the witch hunt?

I refer to the David Irving affair.

Typical was the reaction of a blockhead editorialist on the Vancouver *Province* who wrote that the incident was nothing more than an immigration matter. And good riddance, Mr. Irving. He also wrote that no country in the world has more freedom of speech than Canada.

Somebody must have been smoking something. From start to finish, the Irving affair was politics in which the theme was set by Jewish organizations who insist that their version of history is the only one, and you question it at your peril.

It started with a demand that Irving be barred from the country. Then, when he attempts to obey an immigration department order to leave the country, he is denied entry to the United States. Why? My guess is that the Canadian Jewish Congress asked the ever more powerful American Jewish Congress for a spot of help.

Doug Collins was born in the United Kingdom. In 1939 he volunteered for the British army, and while serving as an infantry sergeant was captured at Dunkirk in 1940. He escaped from German and Hungarian prisoner of war camps. After release from Romania in 1944, he served again with British forces in Europe until the end of the war. He served as a political intelligence officer with the British control commission in Germany, 1946-1950. He migrated to Canada in 1952.

Collins' career in journalism has included work in newspaper, television and radio, both as a reporter and commentator. He was worked for several Canadian daily newspapers, including the *Calgary Herald*, the *Vancouver Province* and the *Vancouver Sun*.

For a time he hosted an open-line radio talk show. Since 1983, he has written a popular and controversial column for the *North Shore News* (North Vancouver, British Columbia). Collins has been honored with Canada's National Newspaper Award (1953), and the MacMillan Bloedel Award (1975).

He is the author of several books, including the memoir, *POW: A Soldier's Story of His Ten Escapes from Nazi Prison Camps* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1968), *Immigration: Parliament versus the People* (1986) and *The Best and Words of Doug Collins* (1988).

Collins spoke on freedom of speech and the Zündel case at the Tenth IHR Conference (1990). His presentation was published in the Fall 1991 *Journal*.

For Irving had been in the US dozens of times without giving any trouble or getting any. But this time it was claimed he didn't have the right kind of visa. So thanks to a little hands-across-the-border work, Irving could not leave Canada and was in the slammer again. That way, he was liable to being officially deported, which would mean that he could never return.

Consider now what has happened elsewhere on the Canadian immigration front where undesirables are concerned—if indeed there are any undesirables apart from controversial authors.

Remember Menachem Begin, the Jewish terrorist? He must have been a *desirable* undesirable because he often visited Canada on fundraising tours. Wanna visa, Menachem? No problem. Yet Begin had been leader of the murderous Irgun Zvai Leumi gang. Among his more notable exploits was the 1948 Deir Yassin massacre of 254 Arab women, children and old men. Plus the blowing up of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, complete with occupants.

Remember Nelson Mandela? In the 1960s his plan was to blow up half of Johannesburg. Released from jail, he gets to Ottawa, is cheered by Parliament and is given $5 million (US) for his splendid cause by a groveling Mulroney. Your money of course.

Liars, crooks, thugs and killers pour into this country by the planeload, and have been doing so for years. Only a couple of weeks ago the CBC [television] program, *The Fifth Estate*, did a copper-bottomed hour on the murderers and thugs from Somalia who are now enjoying Canadian hospitality.

What came through with depressing clarity was that the immigration department just wasn't interested in tossing those people out. You think we are racists or something? No eight-armed policemen descending on supper tables for them!

Confronted with the facts, Minister of Immigration Bernard Valcourt looked like a complete idiot.

Against all that, we see Dangerous David ordered out of the country double-quick. Great stuff, Bernard. And by the way, did you find a load of dynamite in his suitcase?

Irving's views should be a matter for discussion, not Keystone cops chases. For the record, I too do not believe in the six million story (which is not to say that dreadful things did not happen). And I disagree with Irving on quite a lot, especially his hostile view of Churchill and his less-than-hostile view of Hitler.

But what cannot be denied is that he is an outstanding writer and researcher. When the "Hitler diaries" were produced, he denounced them as fakes even though they had been pronounced genuine by Nazi-period expert Hugh Trevor-Roper, Regius Professor of History at Oxford University. And Irving was right.

Doug Collins addresses the Tenth IHR Conference (1990), in Washington, DC.

More recently, the *Sunday Times* hired him to decipher and translate the Goebbels' Diaries. Before that he had discovered the Eichmann papers. And his books on the Nazi leaders are masterpieces of digging. So isn't there just a teeny-weeny possibility that he's right about the six million?

Whether he's right or wrong, Canada is engaging in the equivalent of book-burning. In Hades, Dr. Goebbels must be having quite a laugh. Something to remember on Remembrance Day.

"In Fashion"

Historical revisionism is very much in fashion in books about presidents, prime ministers and generals.

—Herbert Mitgang, *New York Times*, Feb. 5, 1992, p. B2.

Holocaust Survivor Finds "Exterminated" Brother Through Appearance With Revisionists on the Montel Williams Show

For fifty years, Holocaust survivors Ernest Hollander and his brother Alex thought that their older brother, Zoltan, had been executed by the Germans in 1944. And for half a century, Zoltan thought that both his two brothers had been killed by the Germans during the war. But thanks to Ernest Hollander's appearance with Revisionists Mark Weber and David Cole last April on the Montel Williams Show, the long-lost brothers were reunited in San Francisco in late October.

Along with Weber and Cole, Ernest Hollander, 67, appeared with his wife, Anna (a survivor of Auschwitz), and another Jewish Holocaust survivor, Dr. Michael Thaler, on the nationally syndicated Montel Williams Show, which was broadcast April 30 on about 60 television stations around the country. (For more on this broadcast, see the *IHR Newsletter*, May 1992, p. 3, and October 1992, p. 4.)

A few years after the war, Ernest had been told by a friend that he had personally witnessed Zoltan's execution in 1944 by German soldiers, who supposedly hanged him from a tree. But a migrant from Serbia who lives in Brooklyn, and who happened to be watching the broadcast, instantly recognized Ernest on the screen as the "spitting image" of a friend he had known in Serbia, Zoltan "Hershe" Hollander.

According to Ernest, his brother fought against the Germans until the end of the war, but the Soviets thought he was a pro-German spy and sent him to Siberia for ten years, where he worked on roads and in factories. "You can use the worst word in the dictionary to describe what the Russians did to him," says Ernest.

After he was finally released by the Soviets and returned home, Yugoslav authorities —Ernest says—accused Zoltan of having been a Soviet spy, and mistreated him.

While Ernest Hollander and his relatives living here in the United States believed for fifty years that Zoltan had perished as yet another "victim of the Holocaust," Zoltan, for his part, believed for half a century that his entire family had perished in the war. He did not know that his two brothers—Ernest and Alex—were living in northern California, or that he had scores of relatives in the United States, Canada and Britain, including ten living in the United States whom he believed had perished in the Holocaust.

"This man has come back from the dead. We thought he had been dead for fifty years," Ernest says of his brother. "I found a brother, but he found two brothers, uncles and aunts, nieces and nephews—a city of people," adds Ernest, who calls their reunion "the greatest miracle since Moses crossed the sea."

Williams appropriately called the session with Weber and Cole "a celebration of truth."

In a front-page report on this happy reunion, the *Northern California Jewish Bulletin* (Oct. 16) commented that the Hollander family "will in a sense get to rewrite their history—a painful irony given that the topic of the show on which Ernest appeared was Holocaust revisionism."

A special session of the Montel Williams Show featuring the reunited Hollander brothers was broadcast on November 17. On that occasion, host Williams reported that he had been deluged with complaints about the April broadcast with Weber and Cole, including threats of law suits by Jewish organizations for daring to permit the two Revisionists to appear.

Although Ernest ungratefully refers to Weber and Cole as "bums," it is ironic that if it had not been for the willingness of these Revisionists to re-examine supposedly undebatable "truth," this "miraculous" reunion would not have taken place. As we go to press, Weber and Cole have received no expression of appreciation from any Hollander family member for their role in bringing together the long-lost brothers.

Official US Holocaust Museum To Open in April in Washington, DC

After several delays, the largest and costliest Holocaust Museum anywhere is finally scheduled to open in Washington, DC, in April 1992. The "United States Holocaust Memorial Museum" will be formally dedicated on April 22, and will open to the public on April 26.

Major political figures will attend the formal dedication ceremony. President Bill Clinton has been invited to speak. (As we go to press, he has not yet responded to the invitation.) Newspaper and television journalists from across the United States and many foreign countries will also be present.

The Museum is being built on federal government land by the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, a taxpayer-funded federal government agency created by Congress in 1980.

Museum construction costs are being covered by donations. So far more than $130 million has been pledged—almost all of it from wealthy Jewish donors.

The US Holocaust Memorial Council and its friends in the media have been unable to generate widespread support for the Museum project.

In 1980, the Congress limited the budget of the Holocaust Council to $2.5 million. But ever generous with the people's money, the Congress later went far beyond this figure, and has since appropriated $33 million above the originally authorized amount.

Last June, the Congress voted an additional $18.3 million in taxpayer money to fund the US Holocaust Memorial Council for fiscal year 1993. The Congressional Budget Office estimates that for the fiscal years 1994 to 2000, the Council will receive $15.4 million tax dollars annually (adjusted for inflation). The taxpayer bill for the Holocaust Museum between 1993 and 2000 will easily amount to at least $110 million. (*Congressional Record - House*, June 16, 1992, pp. H 4742-4744.)

Remarkably, the Holocaust Museum's operating budget is expected to exceed that of the nearby Air and Space Museum, the most visited museum in the world, and will be seven times the operating cost of the Lincoln, Jefferson and Washington memorials combined.

As numerous public opinion polls reflect, most Americans deeply resent having tens of millions of their tax dollars spent on such special-interest projects, particularly at a time of astronomical federal budget deficits.

The US Holocaust Museum will "memorialize" non-Americans persecuted by other non-Americans. If any new Memorial is really appropriate in the nation's capital, though, it should be dedicated to the memory of dead *Americans*.

Over the years, Zionist groups, the US government and the major media have applauded the ritual atonement by Germany (and Germany's wartime allies) for the mistreatment, both real and imagined, of European Jews. The Holocaust lobby has insisted that Germany (and other European countries) must atone forever for wartime persecution of Jews.

If this expression of collective guilt is right and proper, then it should be no less appropriate for Americans to collectively atone for the mistreatment of American Indians, or Black slavery.

It is likewise noteworthy that there is no comparable memorial museum in the United States for the victims of Communism even though, as historians acknowledge, the victims of Soviet dictator Stalin alone vastly outnumber those of Hitler.

The US Holocaust Memorial Museum is a pseudo-religious monument to the enormous power and influence of a small minority, and to the venal corruption of the politicians who appropriated the people's money to finance it.

Revisionist activists around the country are expressing interest in making sure that the occasion of the April 22 dedication ceremony is used to express the outrage of America's "silent majority" at this outrageous misuse of their money.

"Most Patriotic"

Every Jew alive today is a Holocaust survivor, and I feel that also will be true for every Jew in the future . . . The Holocaust survivors are the most patriotic, most loyal American citizens we could have.

—Neil Sher, director of the US government's "Office of Special Investigations," speaking at a "Yom HaShoah" meeting in Long Island, New York. Quoted in *Jewish World* (Long Island), May 8-14, 1992.

Jewish Concern with Holocaust "Obsession" Means New Holocaust, Says Rabbi

"There is almost nothing more sacred or more sensitive for Jews living in the generation after the Holocaust than the memory of the six million martyrs of Nazi genocide . . . Now that 'revisionists,' who seek to deny the Holocaust, have become even more brazen, sensitive Jews are reacting with even greater obsession.

"But obsession with the Holocaust is exacting a great price. It is killing America's Jews. . . . Jews as a group are drifting away from their religion . . . Unless there will be, within the very near future, a dramatic turnaround in the patterns of Jewish assimilation and intermarriage, we are probably witnessing the last generation of Jewish life in America as we now know it.

". . . Right now the priority seems to be building Holocaust memorials. More than $500 million has already been pledged or spent to build 19 Holocaust memorials and 36 research centers or libraries in America. Some cities, like Los Angeles, have two or three competing Holocaust memorials . . .

"There is a Holocaust taking place in America right now. We can't hear it, because there are no barking dogs . . . We can't smell it because there are no gas chambers. But the net result is exactly the same."

—Rabbi Ephraim Buchwald, "The Holocaust is Killing American Jews," *Los Angeles Times*, April 28, 1992.

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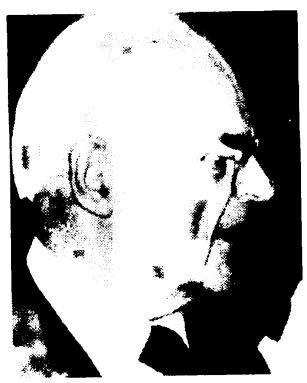
TOM MARCELLUS, MARK WEBER: Opening and keynote of the Eleventh Conference. Director Marcellus greets the two hundred attendees and speakers, then *Journal of Historical Review* editor and conference emcee Weber weaves a spellbinding tapestry of recent IHR triumphs and future challenges, expertly (and entertainingly) setting the Revisionist agenda in today's world-wide political and intellectual context. Learn how, and why, IHR's enemies are atremble, from Beverly Hills to Jerusalem! Audiotape **A109** / Video **V083.**

JAMES J. MARTIN: The Dean of Historical Revisionism returns after a nine-year absence to dedicate the Eleventh to George Morgenstern, the *Chicago Tribune* editor and historian who wrote the first, and in many ways the best, book on FDR's "day of infamy" at Pearl Harbor. Dr. Martin gives his listeners not a lecture, but a seminar in the history of the rise of America's ill-starred interventionism in East Asia, 1898-1941, sparkling with dry wit, humane insight, and scholarly precision. Audiotape **A110** / Video **V084**.



JAMES J. MARTIN

WILLIS CARTO, ERNST ZÜNDEL: IHR's founder introduces the video Ernst Zündel sent "just in case," (yes, once again our State Department and OSI were able to deny us our right to hear him), then the German-Canadian battler exults in his hard-won triumph (which saw Canada's highest tribunal strike down the obscure and obscurantist "false news" statute under which he was twice convicted for publishing a Revisionist book). Then Ernst thanks the many who supported him in so many ways, reaffirms his devotion to rehabilitating his German fatherland, looks ahead to the continuing struggle, and hails the coming, final victory. Includes Willis Carto presenting Ernst with the IHR's 1992 George Orwell Free Speech Award. Audiotape **A117** / Video **V091**.

FRED LEUCHTER: America's leading expert in the design and operation of execution gas chambers, and the author of the earth-shaking technical study that smashed the Auschwitz gassing lie, describes his own "botched execution" at the hands of Zionist terrorists and their cat's-paws in America: how he licked their efforts to rob him of his freedom, how he's fighting their campaign to steal his livelihood, and the inside story of his unlawful arrest and expulsion from Great Britain.

KIRK LYONS

KIRK LYONS: The U.S.A.'s counterpart to Ernst Zündel's battling barrister, Doug Christie, attorney Lyons describes his defense of Fred Leuchter, then outlines what's needed to organize a great legal counteroffensive against the enemies of freedom and truth. A truly rousing call to arms from America's foremost legal defender of the politically "incorrect"! Leuchter and Lyons on one tape. Audiotape **A118** / Video **V092**.

TED O'KEEFE: IHR editor O'Keefe tells how "Holocaust survivor" Mel Mermelstein, self-proclaimed "best witness" to the Auschwitz gas chambers, was licked on the law and the facts in Los Angeles Superior Court in September 1991, effectively ending his ten-year campaign to bankrupt the IHR. O'Keefe tells how he gathered and evaluated the crucial evidence under the direction of defense attorneys Mark Lane and Bill Hulsy, then supplies the hilarious details of how "eyewitness" Mermelstein's libel and conspiracy suit collapsed before the horrified eyes of his high-priced Jewish lawyers as his credibility crumbled on the witness stand. Audiotape **A119** / Video **V093**.

BRADLEY SMITH: Longtime director of IHR's media outreach campaign, and organizer of last year's immensely successful project to alert campuses across America to the case against the "Holocaust," Bradley Smith has never been in better form as he tells what *really* prompted him to go with full-page ads in college newspapers, and what it takes to be a full-time Holocaust Revisionist, at home and over the airwaves. You'll laugh and learn as Brad recalls Robert Faurisson's frank assessment of him as an American intellectual, and advances his own proposals for artistic tributes to Holocausters Marvin Hier and Simon Wiesenthal. Great fun! **DAVID COLE**: A 23-year-old American Jewish Revisionist tells how he came, first to doubt and then to challenge, the gas-chamber stories. The young movie-maker who filmed and produced Brad Smith's video interview with Mark Lane and appeared with Mark Weber on the nationally televised Montel Williams Show) recounts his recent trip to gather material for a film documentary on Auschwitz (where Ernst Zündel was his guide), above all his extraordinarily revealing, filmed interview with the research director of the Auschwitz State Museum, Franciszek Piper. Moving, informative, sensational! Smith and Cole on one tape. Audiotape **A120** / Video **V094**.

TED O'KEEFE

BRADELY SMITH

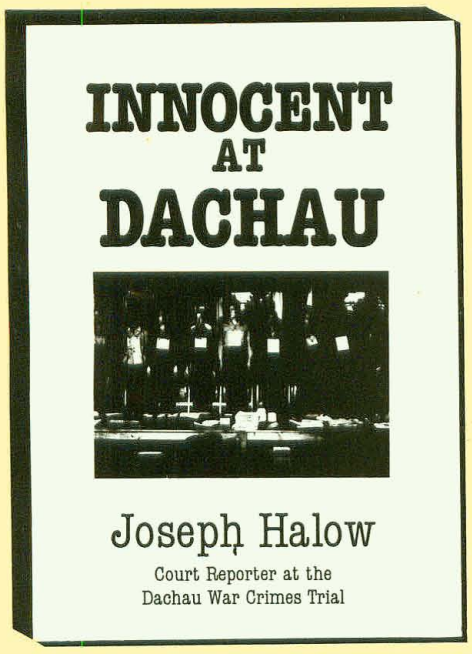
DAVID COLE

At Last—the Heart-warming, Infuriating, Informative, and Revisionist Memoir that Dares to Tell the Truth About the Postwar Trials of the Germans

INNOCENT AT DACHAU

AMERICAN TEENAGER JOE HALOW was still a boy when he sailed to war-ravaged Germany in late 1946. The year he spent there, taking part in some of the most sensational of the war-crimes trials of the defeated Nazis, turned him into a man.

Innocent at Dachau is Joe Halow's account of his year in postwar Germany, above all his work as a court reporter during the U.S. Army courts-martial at Dachau. There Halow witnessed, recorded and transcribed some of the most gripping testimony from some of the most sensational trials of the postwar years: of SS guards from Buchenwald, Mauthausen, and Dora/Nordhausen; of the inmates who carried out their orders as kapos (prisoner trusties); and of German villagers who attacked and murdered downed American fliers in the last phase of the Allies' terrifying air war.

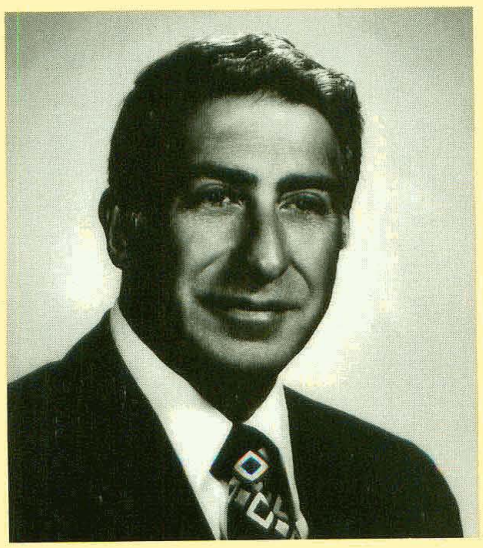


Armed with an ironclad faith in American righteousness when he arrived, young Halow soon saw the flaws and the abuses in the Dachau trials: reliance on *ex post facto* law and broad conspiracy theories; abuse of prisoners during interrogation; and the shocking tolerance, even encouragement, of perjured testimony by concentration camp survivors. The teenaged American court reporter came to sympathize with the plight of the accused, particularly those convicted, sentenced or executed unjustly.

Innocent at Dachau is Joe Halow's story of his coming of age, his loss of innocence, in the Dachau courts. And it's the human drama of how he came to terms with his own anti-German feelings as he lived and worked in a Germany still heaped with rubble and ruled by the black market, in the shadow of the looming Iron Curtain and the approaching Cold War.

Innocent at Dachau is also the story of how, four decades later, Joe Halow went back—back to the long-classified records of the Army's trials at Dachau where he found astounding confirmation from official sources of his own misgivings about the trials; and back to Germany for a moving visit with one of the German SS men Halow watched testify about his role at the Nordhausen concentration camp.

Outspoken, informative, moving, ***Innocent at Dachau*** is a unique testimony to one American's quest for understanding, truth, and honor in a realm ruled even today by shibboleth and taboo, a book that deserves to be read, studied, and read again.



Joseph Halow was born and raised in Altoona, Pennsylvania. After a brief stint in the U.S. Army immediately after World War II, during which he served in Peking, China, Mr. Halow served as a court reporter at the U.S. Army war crimes trials at Dachau. Mr. Halow has had a long career in the export-import business, during which he headed an association that promoted the exportation of American grain. A Phi Beta Kappa graduate of The George Washington University, Halow is the author of numerous articles on agricultural affairs, as well as a book, *U.S. Grain: The Political Commodity.* He lives near Washington, D.C.

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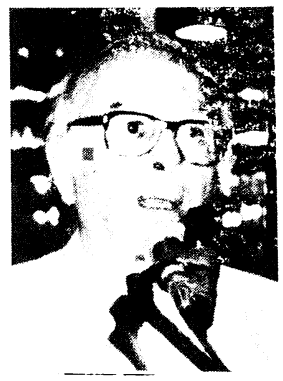


JEROME BRENTAR

JEROME BRENTAR: Jerry Brentar, the most valiant and persistent defender of John Demjanjuk, discusses, for the first time before an IHR audience, his *own* role in fighting and exposing the OSI-Israeli-Soviet frame-up of the Ukrainian-American falsely convicted in Jerusalem as "Ivan the Terrible" of Treblinka. Jerry tells of his search for evidence on three continents; his personal experience with the skullduggery and treachery of the OSI; his 1988 "expulsion" from George Bush's presidential campaign; and his key part in educating Demjanjuk defenders like Congressman Jim Traficant (D-OH), and journalist and presidential candidate Pat Buchanan. Audiotape **A111** / Video **V085**.

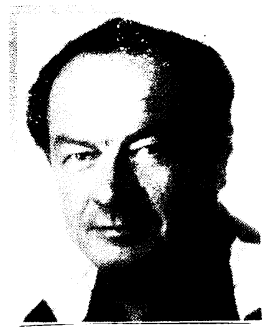
AHMED RAMI: The gallant Moroccan officer in exile who has become a radio apostle of Revisionism in Sweden greets the conference in French, then Robert Faurisson reads (and comments) on Rami's lecture in English. Rami tells of his trial, conviction, and jail sentence for "lack of respect" for Jews in Sweden, and how he turned his time in prison into a Revisionist seminar for guards and inmates alike. He and Dr. Faurisson give a witty rendering of Faurisson's adventure in Sweden, then Rami offers an Arab and Islamic perspective on the Holocaust, as well as experienced advice on using mass media in the battle of ideas. Audiotape **A112** \ Video **V086**.

AHMED RAMI

WOLF RÜDIGER HESS: The son of Rudolf Hess, the twentieth century's Prisoner of Peace, talks about the life and death of his father, Adolf Hitler's deputy, whose bold flight to Scotland to seek an end to World War II resulted in 46 years of imprisonment, and, Wolf Hess argues convincingly, his father's murder at the hands of his captors. In this video presentation, filmed in Germany just days before the conference, Wolf Hess offers dramatic new evidence and incomparable personal insight into his father's witness and martyrdom for Germany and world peace. Audiotape **A113** / Video **V087**.

ARTHUR R. BUTZ: The author of *Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, the seminal work of modern Holocaust Revisionism, prefaces his formal lecture with a background on the origins of Brad Smith's Campus Project at Northwestern University, where he is a professor. Then Butz uses the most complete collection of German documents on the Auschwitz crematoria ever published, Pressac's *Auschwitz*, to propound a brilliant and devastating (for the Exterminnationists) new hypothesis on the planning and construction of the crematoria at Auschwitz. A vital update to *The Hoax* that every Holocaust Revisionist will want to own. Audiotape **A114** / Video **V088**.

ROBERT FAURISSON: The peerless Revisionist from France first delivers a funeral oration over the cadaver of the-Holocaust-as-history, then proclaims the bad tidings: that the hoax is being resurrected, this time as a religion impervious to historical analysis, by its High Priests around the world. Professor Faurisson brings news of intensified persecution of Revisionists across Europe, and, while praising our First Amendment, warns Americans to beware the implacable fanaticism of the Holocaust cultists. An indispensable summary of how far Revisionists have come, and what we still face. Audiotape **A115** / Video **V089**.



WOLF R. HESS

DAVID IRVING: The brilliant, controversial English historian and international bestselling author provides a sobering (but hilarious) account of his harassment and embarrassment at the behest of Jewish-Zionist groups and individuals around the world, from window-smashing campaigns in Britain to obstruction by police and immigration authorities in Germany, Austria, Italy, South Africa, Canada, and Argentina. Irving then tells the *inside* story of how his contact in Moscow discovered the missing portions of the Goebbels diaries, and how Irving himself deciphered and translated them for the (London) *Sunday Times*. Finally, Irving discusses the Eichmann "memoir," offers a controversial assessment of their value for the history of World War II German Jewish policy, and crosses swords with Robert Faurisson in a dramatic and memorable question-and-answer exchange. A superb tape! Audiotape **A116** / Video **V090**.

DAVID IRVING

ROBERT FAURISSON

ARTHUR R. BUTZ

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